

SOCIAL CONCERN AND TWENTIETH CENTURY BRITISH PREACHING

BY

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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Today, most countries are facing complex economic-welfare issues. Ministers generally are not preaching effectively to these social concerns, according to the research of Rodney Stark in WAYWARD SHEPHERDS. Facing similarly complex economic-welfare questions in an earlier day, British clergy (for example, John Baillie and William Temple) were challenged to develop types of social preaching. The approaches, insights and styles of their sermons are relevant and helpful to us today, in our attempts to preach to comparable issues.

This thesis is primarily a search for pertinent facts related to social preaching and their meanings or implications with reference to social concerns and Twentieth Century British preaching.

This critical study focuses on social preaching for today, as the prophetic proclamation of the Word, which reflects response to and concern for social issues. Implications and relevance for ministry today, are drawn from British sermons, primarily those of British clergy. Walter Rauschenbusch is also included because of his extensive influence and his being a model on both sides of the Atlantic. The time period covers approximately 1900 to 1950, a microcosm of time reflecting similar economic-welfare issues that face many countries today. The economic-welfare issues include work and unemployment, poverty, health, housing and other related social issues. This thesis presupposes the Biblical imperatives of the Gospel for social preaching today.

The study begins with a chapter on aims and scope. Then it examines the historical background of social preaching. The economic-welfare issues of Britain during the first half of the Twentieth Century are portrayed, followed by the response of British sermons during the same time period. The implications for social preaching today are divided into theological themes, homiletical techniques and psychological implications; and conclusions are offered.

Preaching responsibly with genuine concern about economic-welfare issues is essential in the application of the Christian Gospel to the lives of people. This thesis makes a strong case for both the past effectiveness of timely, well-formulated and persuasively expressed social preaching and the continuing need, appropriateness and methods of social preaching today.

TO

MY WIFE

CAROL

AND

MY TWO SCOTTISH SONS

STEPHEN AND MARK

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PREFACE

This thesis is a study of preaching, and more specifically about social preaching. My purpose is to analyze the changing and variegated face of social sermons during this period, in order to discover ways toward more effective social preaching today.

My approach is primarily that of a preacher and scholar.

The thesis is based on the premise that preaching does not occur in a vacuum. Preaching functions within a particular social context. A person speaks in and to a given situation and their message is in part molded by the social setting.

My methodology has been to examine the sermons of some of the more prominent preachers in Britain during the Twentieth Century.

Since this thesis is partly historical, I have attempted to let men speak for themselves and have therefore quoted extensively at times from the preachers themselves, portraying a flavor of the style and substance, as well as illustrating judgments made.

In spelling I have attempted to follow the standard American spelling except in quotations where I have retained the spelling of the source being quoted.

Since a definition of the aims and scope of this thesis is outlined in Chapter One, there is little need to add more than a brief word here about the special acknowledgments due to those who were so wonderfully helpful in the preparation of these pages.

It is my particular pleasure to acknowledge with gratitude those persons who have made this study possible. My appreciation is due to my family, who shared with me in the burdens and the blessings, the thistles and the heather. I am most grateful and wish to express my thanks to those who assisted in any way in the preparation of this thesis. I am especially grateful for the invaluable help received from my two advisors, The Reverend Doctor John Gray and Professor J. C. Spencer, who at every stage offered me wise advice and guidance. I also wish to acknowledge the kindness of members of the staff of New College Library, the University of Edinburgh Library, the National Library of Scotland and libraries in the Chicago area.

CHAPTER I. AIMS AND SCOPE OF THIS THESIS

CHAPTER I. AIMS AND SCOPE OF THIS THESIS

- A. DEFINITIONS OF THIS STUDY
- B. THE COMPLEXITIES OF THIS STUDY
 - 1. The Theological Complexities
 - 2. The Complexities of Social Policy
- C. OTHER OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

A. DEFINITIONS OF THIS STUDY

Today, most countries are facing complex economic-welfare issues. Ministers generally are not preaching effectively to these social concerns, according to Rodney Stark in WAYWARD SHEPHERD.⁽¹⁾ Facing similarly complex economic-welfare questions in an earlier day, British clergy (for example, John Baillie and William Temple) were challenged to develop unique types of social preaching. The approaches, insights and styles of their sermons are relevant and helpful to us, in our attempts to preach to comparable issues.

Preaching responsibly and with genuine concern about economic-welfare issues is essential in the application of the Christian Gospel to the lives of people. I will make a strong case for both the past effectiveness of timely, well formulated and persuasively expressed social preaching and the continuing need, appropriateness and method of such preaching today.

This critical study will focus on social preaching, as the prophetic proclamation of the word, which reflects response to and concern for social issues. Implications and relevance for ministry will be drawn primarily from British sermons. The time period will be approximately 1900 to 1950, a microcosm of time reflecting similar economic-welfare issues that face the United States today. The economic-welfare issues will include

(1) Stark, Foster, Glock & Quinley, WAYWARD SHEPHERDS, pp.121-122.

work and unemployment, poverty, health, housing and other related social concerns. This study presupposes the Biblical imperatives of the Gospel for social preaching.

The work will begin with a substantial study of relevant literature in the related fields. Some of the background of social preaching will be studied. There will also be a study of economic-welfare issues of Britain, 1900-1950. The sermonic response of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland will be studied from THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, other multi-volume sets of sermons, as well as single-volume compilations of sermons by individual preachers. Conflict management literature will be looked at, where it applies to preaching. Homiletical literature will be studied where it is relevant to social preaching.

Building upon the research above, the next step will be a critical analysis of the social sermons found, looking for the relevant implications for social preaching. This will include an analysis of the psychological approaches, the homiletical techniques and the theological themes involved in the sermons. Conclusions will then be formulated and previously unknown facts will be established.

Social preaching has apparently been a historical dilemma for churchmen. Washington Gladden, who has often been called the 'father of the social gospel,' wrote in 1876:

Now that slavery is out of the way, the questions that concern our free laborers are coming forward; and no intelligent man needs to be admonished of their urgency. They are not only questions of economy, they are in a large sense moral questions;

may, they touch the very marrow of that religion of good-will of which Christ was the founder. It is plain that the pulpit must have something to say about them.(2)

The importance of this subject for today is illustrated by a recent article in THEOLOGY TODAY entitled "Why Do Pastors Preach on Social Issues?"(3)

- (2) John Dillenberger and Claude Welch, PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY, pp. 245-246. Quoted from H. Hopkins, THE RISE OF THE SOCIAL GOSPEL, p.24.
- (3) Hart M. Nelson, "Why Do Pastors Preach on Social Issues?", THEOLOGY TODAY 32, (April, 1975): 56-73.

B. THE COMPLEXITIES OF THIS STUDY

1. The Theological Complexities

The author has found almost no literature written directly on this complex subject. One reason which makes this subject difficult to handle is the conflicting points of view. Some say that the Church should not become involved in social struggles, but should concentrate on the spiritual life. Others are not against becoming involved as long as the traditions in which they believe are maintained. Still others hold that the Church must assume a more direct role in social change. The old social gospel, known as the new theology in Britain, has left the liberal wing of the Church with a tradition of being awkward in their social responses, while the fundamentalist wing has been left in a defensive stance, although they are awakening to their social responsibility. More recently, there has re-emerged a social Christianity movement with a stronger theological basis, and today it appears that perhaps most of the controversy in the Church is over the response and the approach to social issues. There are the shifting sands of the old dichotomy controversies to be found on the theological continuum - the separation of the house of life and the house of faith, the secular and the sacred, the spiritual life and the social life, the individual and the community, and personal salvation and social salvation. Thus, although many of the basic tenets of the Christian Faith remain the same, the role of the church changes in its relations to the ordering of society, as there is a constant shifting of theological thought and emphasis.

The complexities of the specific area of social preaching bristle with difficulties. Some clergy urge and practice social preaching, maintaining that preaching must include man's relations with society. Some suggest occasional preaching, perhaps to

"speak one's mind"

at least once on an issue. Others do not acknowledge it as a valid type of preaching, or they maintain a highly ambiguous approach to it. Perhaps they have chosen to dodge the more sticky issues or to shy away from them as being difficult, complex, unpleasant or controversial. Possibly some would rather not scrutinize their comfortable successes too closely. Or again, perhaps they feel that they are more qualified for another type of preaching. Finally, there are some who are strongly opposed to any social preaching; they maintain that there should never be

"politics in the pulpit."

They have many arguments for their position, such as that one might

"mortgage one's influence as a minister"

and that one ought to stick to

"preaching the Gospel."

There are also the problems related to the extent and the extremes of social preaching. How much social preaching should be done? How much free expression should there be in the pulpit? There are important questions of the approach or strategy used in social preaching. Or should all or most of the response to social issues be confined to the church hall discussion group or forum.

Then there are the definite risks that must be taken in social preaching - being criticized for being too radical, too quietist, too hyperactive, too partial, too political or for representing certain special interests. There is also the important dilemma over the use of the Scriptures, since the Bible has been used to support almost any social structure.

The credibility gap between the clergy and the laity is probably growing, as the complexity of technology increases. What qualifications does a priest or minister have to speak on economic and welfare areas - even if some social issues are clearly moral issues? Certainly part of the dilemma is to be found in the fine shadings of morality, where there are few clear-cut black and white decisions, and most are choices in the gray zone.

Thus there are the complexities of the conflicts arising from within the social issues themselves, but there are also the deep conflicts that come from the individual clergyman himself. There are the underlying pressures from the traditions and policies of the local church as well as from the denomination and other judicatories; criticism tends to increase as the social response of the clergyman becomes more direct and concrete. Some have even suggested that part of the answer is the economic independence of the minister. The problem of social preaching today appears to be a dilemma resulting from the theological complexities involved, the lack of knowledge of how to do it effectively and the lack of courage to preach. Therefore, there are all these inevitable tensions and complexities with which to struggle, and the challenge is to use them creatively.

2. The Complexities of Social Policy

Although many of the basic tenets pertaining to human relationships are as old as theology, social policy is a comparatively new science. There are constant shiftings of thought, changing social theories, and new social concepts emerging. Earlier it was assumed that the patterns of the social orders were fixed, but now social institutions are seen to be malleable, redemptive or restrictive in their relationship to spiritual life. Society is changing; the rugged 'laissez faire' individualism of the past has evolved into the collectivism of the welfare state, with its constantly changing social conditions and issues. Society is never static, and therefore the churchman needs to continuously study the processes of social change - to keep listening, learning, growing and responding to the changing society, the changing theological and sociological concepts and the changing social conditions and issues; since the social responses of the present are soon out of date. All of these changing factors add to the complexity of this study.

Social issues are generally more urgent, demanding and complex today with the increase in the density of population, the accelerated living and the mobility of persons. The younger accelerated generation especially is developing at a faster pace and demanding more adequate and effective responses to social issues. On the other hand, for some in society, personal responsibility has been diluted and personal initiative has been undercut, with a resulting apathy.

Just the element of time passing by, has allowed the accumulation of disorders, prejudices, vested interests and vicious circles of response in society.

There is the principle that the ability to handle a problem generally varies inversely with the distance from it. In our complex and changing society of today, how can a Christian minority hope to affect the processes of social change? How can social preaching in a local congregation be of much real usefulness? The distances between social problems, the legislative processes and the Church appear to be increasing as society becomes more complex, social change more rapid and social controls more centralized.

Then there is the sheer problem of evidence, where one often cannot be sure of the source of social problems and which is the better strategy to employ. Past precedents are not necessarily helpful and may be utterly misleading; they are dated because they are responses to an unique social situation in the past, which will never recur exactly in the same way. Within this new science of sociology, the causality of social problems is not completely known and therefore a full diagnosis cannot be made and an exact remedy prescribed. All of these factors together with many more combine to add a wide breath and a deep complexity in this study.

The complexity of communication is another factor which brings confusion. Semantics and terminology, the combining of two disciplines in a single study, the strong ambivalent emotional feelings which tend to obscure the facts - these factors are all involved here.

Partly because of the diversity of the clergyman's background, there are resultant misunderstandings and emotional blindness. This emotional and semantic tension needs cool heads, warm hearts and a positive spirit of lucid analysis. If they can be understood, at least in part, what are some of the better approaches to take in social preaching to promote better communication and understanding? Are there guidelines or principles which can be formulated that might be helpful?

The individual clergyman wrestles as well with his conflicting roles as citizen, denominational churchman, employee, person and others. Conflicting interests may result in moral blindness and self-interest may be cloaked with idealism. The priest or minister may use various defenses for his protection as he faces up to the issue of social preaching. Immediately however, the necessity of taking risks and the inevitability of making mistakes confronts him, as he seeks to deal with these cloudy and obscure matters. There are no exact plans to follow, there is no perfectly idealistic social situation to be achieved and the churchman must be satisfied with proximate and viable solutions.

The dearth of literature on social subjects adds to the confusion. The dominance of a more classical tradition of theological education has not only been largely unhelpful in this area, but has even led to a greater lack of concern with the specific problems of modern society. Where can the churchman of today go to find his way out of the complex maze of dilemmas facing him in social preaching?

Churchmen, of course, are part of their social setting, and both consciously and unconsciously assimilate ideas and values. There is an inevitable cultural involvement and conformity to some extent, and thus the subtle tendency to grow toward being a mere reflection of the existing social order, rather than planning and preaching to criticize and to construct it. But the churchman is more than a part of society, he is also a leader in a divine society - the Kingdom of God.

It appears that Walter Rauschenbusch was the first to use the term 'social preaching':

None can deny that the pulpit has the teaching function and that its obligation runs wherever a moral question can be raised. Those who think the institutional Church a departure from the spiritual mission of the Church, must concede all the more that the Church should teach plainly on the moral causes and remedies of social misery. If the Church is not to deal with mass poverty by its organized work, its obligation is all the greater to deal with it by the sword of the word. . . . It is true enough that social preaching has often been badly done. It has often been ignorant, bitter, partisan, and non-religious. But if it has been done badly by the few who stood alone in attempting it, that is all the more reason why all should develop greater wisdom by common experience. . . . Any preacher dealing with social questions is certain to be charged with partiality. The wider our social cleavage, the more difficult will it be to satisfy both sides. Nor is it his business to try trimming and straddling. He must seek to hew as straight as the moral law. Let others voice special interests; the minister of Jesus Christ must voice the mind of Jesus Christ. His strength will lie in the high impartiality of moral insight and love to all.(4)

(4) Walter Rauschenbusch, CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS, P.358-361.

C. OTHER OBJECTIVES OF THIS STUDY

This research project is primarily a search for pertinent facts related to social preaching and their meanings or implications with reference to social concerns and twentieth century British preaching. It studies primarily the sermon literature of the period, in order to illuminate the past history and the present problems of social preaching. Some of the other more specific objectives include the following:

1. To gain a sense of the historical perspective of social preaching. Looking away from ourselves to the exciting and thought-provoking history of social preaching down through the centuries and especially during the twentieth century will help to enlighten our situation. We stand today in this tradition of living faith and relevant preaching.
2. To portray some of the larger national social issues of the twentieth century. This will provide the context for the response of social preaching.
3. To portray some of the general response of British clergymen. This will include some of the more important social movements and organizations, the social literature written by the clergy and some of the other more important social responses by individual churchmen as they are related to social preaching.
4. To portray examples of the social preaching of British churches. This will show how social concerns were reflected in sermons

and some of the effectiveness of these approaches. This study will reveal to what extent the various types of social preaching have been utilized. It will also be of interest to see what texts and Scriptures were used, and how these were treated and interpreted in the social sermons. It will be of interest to see how many do not make use of any background of Scripture. The relationships between social sermons and the various types of theological and sociological movements of the twentieth century will also be important. Again, what were some of the presuppositions and aims of the social sermons? Of importance, of course, would be the key social preachers during this period. Also, has social preaching been a pioneering and determining factor toward the achievement of more social justice in Britain, and if so, to what extent? Or has the social preaching largely reflected advances already made by secular institutions? Also what suggestions and techniques are provided in homiletical literature for social preaching?

5. To determine some relationships between the general clergymen responses and the pulpit social pronouncements. Social preaching tends to diminish as official social pronouncements increase and as governmental legislation tends to ease the social problems. In comparing social preaching and the general clergy social response, some utilize both methods of response, others emphasize one approach more than the other, while others will be found to use one type of response almost exclusively.

Kathleen Jones, Professor of Social Administration at the University of York has challenged the Church:

The Church of God is eternal fact; but the Church militant here in earth operates in a changing world. It is the leaven in the lump - a source of moral and spiritual energy continuously working through the whole social structure. Christ gave back dignity and purpose to the social outcasts of his day. His followers cannot do less than grapple with the social problems of their own time.(5)

Apparently the complex dilemma of social preaching has been a problem for churchmen for many centuries, as will be shown in the following chapter, "Background of Social Preaching."

(5) Kathleen Jones, THE COMPASSIONATE SOCIETY, pp.2-3.

CHAPTER II. BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL PREACHING

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- A. THE INTRODUCTION
- B. THE OLD TESTAMENT PROPHETS
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 - 1. The New Testament
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- E. THE REFORMATION TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
 - 1. Luther
 - 2. Calvin
 - 3. Other Reformers
 - 4. Early Post-Reformation Times
- F. BRITAIN OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES
 - 1. The Eighteenth Century
 - 2. Nineteenth Century England
 - 3. Nineteenth Century Scotland
- G. CONCLUSIONS

A. THE INTRODUCTION

The social sermon is not without precedents, predecessors and parallels in the history of religion. It has its very roots in Jewish tradition and worship. The Christian preacher has indeed stepped into the legacy of the prophets of the Old Testament, into the tradition of the synagogue where Christ read and explained the Scriptures, and into the heritage of the church fathers, the reformers and the socially enlightened churchmen.

Edwin Charles Dargan has adequately described the place of preaching in history.

The life and progress of nations, the rise and fall of governments have often been closely connected with preaching. This is no extravagant claim, as we shall have some occasion to see in the course of this work. The great names of the Apostle Paul, of John Chrysostom, of Augustine and Ambrose, of Leo and Gregory, of Boniface and Bernard, of Wiclif and Savonarola, of Luther and Calvin and Knox, of Edwards, Whitefield and Wesley, are some of those which suggest how variously and profoundly the larger life of nations has sometimes been influenced by the preacher.(1)

It was John Kelman, as minister of St. George's United Free Church, Edinburgh who once declared,

"Social preaching also demanded, bearing directly upon social, national, and international themes."(2)

Down through the centuries the pendulum of social concern has been swinging in preaching. Sometimes it almost stopped, at other times it moved weakly, and at times it moved boldly and courageously. Some churchmen responded with social preaching in great wisdom;

(1) Edwin Charles Dargan, A HISTORY OF PREACHING, Vol.I., pp.8-9.

(2) John Kelman, THE WAR AND PREACHING, P.127.

other churchmen were rather foolish in their approach. On some occasions social preaching took the form of prophetic protest or social criticism; on other occasions it was of the nature of social construction, with a more positive thrust. But it remains as one of the means by which the Church has responded to social issues down through history.

It was Winston Churchill who once said,

"All wisdom is not new wisdom, and the past should be studied if the future is to be successfully encountered."⁽³⁾

It is the purpose of this chapter to give a limited background of social preaching. This is not a history of social preaching; such a project would necessitate several volumes. However, it is the attempt here, to take soundings at some of the more important points in history, to see if the pulpit reflected social concerns. In some periods the realistic, prophetic voice of the pulpit was surprisingly strong; other periods revealed practically no prophetic theme in preaching.

An attempt will also be made to describe briefly the social conditions of the various periods, together with the various responses to the social issues - by the State, the official Church, and the individual clergy and people.

The general organization of the Chapter will be both chronological and pyramidal, with the last part dealing only with England and Scotland. More detailed attention will be given to the social

(3) The Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill on
Post-War Education, 21st March, 1943.

preaching in these two countries during the nineteenth century because of its high relevancy to the dissertation project as a whole. Approximately the last two decades of the nineteenth century will be included in later chapters, as a prelude to the twentieth century study. Only where historical background is necessary to understand an event will it be mentioned, and no particular attempt will be made to include generally known events.

B. THE OLD TESTAMENT PROPHETS

David A. MacLennan writing about 'The Preacher as Prophet,' states,

"I know also that to preach the Gospel and to relate it to critical issues confronting my generation is, as an English layman [Bernard Lord Manning] once defined preaching, 'a manifestation of the Incarnate Word, from the written word, by the Spoken word.'"(4)

Throughout the Old Testament there is reflected a historic social concern. One basic element in modern society appears to have found its beginnings in the Hebrew word mishpat or justice. A person's life held worth, and it was the intent of God's law to protect the less-favored members of society. The laws of the Pentateuch are laws of a society which is concerned with the establishment of human community.

The children of Israel were instructed by both the law and the prophets as to the precise temptations of an agricultural society and their proper behaviour to each other and to strangers. Our Lord does not hesitate to instruct His disciples on their attitude to money, to taxation and to their foreign rulers; and Peter, Paul and James in their Epistles are all concerned with the detailed problems arising from life in a pagan society. Who are we, in our day, to feel that we have no need for such things? And if our Lord was concerned with the earthly needs and sufferings of the society in which He lived, who are we to be indifferent?(5)

The early Old Testament times gave birth to a system of social legislation aimed at producing a just society.

(4) David A. MacLennan, A PREACHER'S PRIMER, pp.28-30.

Partly quoted from R. B. Y. Scott, THE RELEVANCE OF THE PROPHETS, Macmillan Co., 1944.

(5) H. F. R. Catherwood, THE CHRISTIAN IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY, P.xi.

The prophets took their texts from these social laws. Rauschenbusch, the American social prophet, declared in 1912:

We have seen that the prophets demanded right moral conduct as the sole test and fruit of religion, and that the morality which they had in mind was not the private morality of detached pious souls but the social morality of the nation. This they preached, and they backed their preaching by active participation in public action and discussion.(6)

George Adam Smith has a section in his book entitled 'The Political and Social Preaching of the Prophets' in which he asserts,

"To go into detail upon the subjects of the civic preaching of the Prophets would amount to an exposition of the larger part of the Books of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah and Jeremiah."(7)

In a later chapter, we will see how Professor Smith and others led in a rediscovery of the social preaching of the Old Testament prophets.

This dissertation project is concerned primarily with social preaching as it relates to the economic-welfare area. Therefore, it is appropriate to summarize briefly, the teaching of the Old Testament in this more specific area related to the poor. The poor are mentioned more than sixty times in the Old Testament; poor almost always means those who are poor in a material sense. These are the needy (Deut. 15:7; 24:14). They are the opposite of the rich (Exodus 23:3; 30:15; Lev. 14:21). They are also impaired

- (6) Walter Rauschenbusch,
CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS, p.11.
- (7) George Adam Smith, MODERN CRITICISM AND THE PREACHING OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, pp.272-273.

in physical strength and psychological ability (Job 34:28; Ps. 82:3; Jer. 40:7; 52:16). They are oppressed by the rich (Isa. 3:14; Exek. 18:16-18; Amos 2:7).

In the Old Testament the poor were especially remembered by God. He would not forget them (Psalm 9:12; 10:12; Isa. 49:13; Jer. 20:13). Through the Mosaic legislation and the prophetic exhortation, God works social justice for the poor (Deut. 10:17-18; II Sam. 22:28; Isa. 25:4; Amos 2:6; 4:1). Many are the warnings against the oppression of the poor in both the Law and the Prophets (Exod. 23:3; Lev. 19:15; Isa. 1:23; Exek. 22:7; Mic. 2:2; Mal. 3:5). The Sojourner was also to be protected. Laws concerning the poor are found in Lev. 19; 23; Deut. 14-15; 25. The Hebrew judges were to give the poor full protection (Exod. 23:3; Deut. 16:19). Interest was not to be exacted from the poor (Exod. 22:25; Lev. 25:36; Deut. 23:20). This became highly controversial later on in history. They were to be allowed to glean in the fields and vineyards (Lev. 19:9-10). They had first rights to the sabbatical fruits (Exodus 23:11). The tithe of the third year was for the benefit of the needy (Deut. 14:28).

God did expect the poor to be faithful to the statutes and the covenant of God. In humility, they were to accept their situation, not because it was foreordained (I Sam. 2:7), but because God could bring it to good (Prov. 30:8). The Old Testament does not proclaim God's ordination of a person's economic status, but the doctrine of creation and potential redemption. The God-fearing will be blessed despite poverty.

To help the poor was meritorious and brought blessing, for one honors God by honoring the poor (Prov. 14:21). Charity was a virtue throughout all biblical history. It was the duty of the rich to help the poor, and to Job this was a privilege (Job 31:16ff). Justice and mercy are to be shown to the poor (Ecclus. 7:10).

It is appropriate here, only to briefly summarize the well known social preaching of the prophets. The prophets lived and preached during the time of the development of the Hebrew society, from a predominantly agricultural society to the rise of the commercial city. Therefore, the social evils with which the prophets preached are still largely urgent today. They had a strong emphasis upon the need for justice and equity in society, and this also is a need today.⁽⁸⁾ The prophets were concerned about the interests of the poorer classes of the community. A new duty and loyalty of the community was awakened. It was a moral duty to demand justice for the poor.

The Old Testament writers held that religion was strongly social; that there was no such thing as purely individual religion. Jeremiah is a good example of the blending of both personal and social preaching. For the Old Testament writers, religion could never be non-social and politics could never be secular. The Old Testament writers gave strong emphasis to the social responsibility of the community and also of the individual within the community.

(8) See Amos 5:21-24.

Individual responsibility went hand-in-hand with community responsibility, and religion as communal remained a dominant thrust in the New Testament.

The prophets were primarily preachers. Their weight of denunciation fell upon the chief beneficiaries of the existing system: the king, fat priests, greedy wise men, those in luxury with the destitute at their door, rich women, venal judges, heartless creditors, sumptuous householders, and greedy land-owners. The prophets were

"social revolutionaries because they were religious conservatives, seeking to revive the essential ethics and social creativity of historic Yahwism." (9)

The prophets make plain to us that those who defend any established social order, or champion an alternative structure, must show that what they defend or propose is a society congenial to true religion, productive of human values, and which is the concrete expression of a real community among persons. (10)

Although there was, clearly, protest or denunciation of oppression of the poor, injustice and extortion, corruption in high places, and such like, it is sometimes forgotten that there was also a strong positive, constructive, and comforting element in the preaching of the prophets as well. (11)

(9) R. B. Y. Scott, THE RELEVANCE OF THE PROPHETS, p.185.

See also his chapter on "The Prophets and the Social Order."

(10) See Gerhard van Rad, THE MESSAGE OF THE PROPHETS, Chapter 22.

(11) See Maurice B. Reckitt, FAITH AND SOCIETY, p.33.

Quoted from an article by Malcolm Spencer, "The Social and Political Content of Early Christianity," in THE PILGRIM, January, 1927.

See also Reginald Tribe, THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL TRADITION, pp.278-279.

Another factor is worthy of notice. The Hebrew prophets emphasized the Kingdom of God on earth rather than in a future life. (12)

Today, there is another rediscovering of the social message of the Hebrew prophets, especially among those of the right on the theological continuum.

Thus the historic social concern of the church belongs to today's Christians along with the prayers, the noble thoughts, the great statements of belief, the literary and artistic treasures of the church down the centuries. When a man becomes a believer he does not retreat from his responsibilities as a member of society; quite the opposite. He takes his place in the tradition of Moses, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, Mary, James, and John the Baptist.

It is the lasting glory of the Hebrew people that they produced so many centuries ago the first known champions of social justice. Men and women of every race and nation around the world recognize today the contribution of the prophets of Israel to the ordering of human affairs. (13)

James Stalker delivered the Yale Lectures on Preaching in 1891, entitled 'The Preacher as a Patriot.' Here he deals extensively with the Old Testament prophets as giving examples of how to respond to the living, burning questions of the present age.

Can anyone doubt that an Isaiah or a Jeremiah would, in such a state of society, have lifted up his voice like a trumpet and cast the condition of these lost children of our people in the faces of the luxurious rich, and especially of the professors of religion? And is it less obvious that this is still the duty of the modern pulpit? (14)

(12) See S. L. Greenslade, THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL ORDER, p.10.

(13) Sherwood Eliot Wirt, THE SOCIAL CONSCIENCE OF THE EVANGELICAL, p.8.

(14) James Stalker, THE PREACHER AND HIS MODELS, pp.65,77,81.

A prophetic understanding of the Christian Faith implies a radical criticism of every aspect of human life and society. Prophetic religion has, thus, a kind of built-in principle of social criticism. (15)

The Old Testament law and prophets portray a clear initial scene in the historical perspective of social preaching.

(15) See John A. Hutchinson, ed.,
CHRISTIAN FAITH AND SOCIAL ACTION, P.6.

C. THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO THE MIDDLE AGES

1. The New Testament

Preaching probably originated from ancient oratory, the Hebrew prophecy and the Christian gospel; with the gospel being the real originating cause which took elements from the other two.⁽¹⁶⁾

Andrew W. Blackwood asserts in his book entitled THE PREPARATION OF SERMONS that much of the New Testament is actually preaching.⁽¹⁷⁾

This would begin with John the Baptist and rise to great heights with our Lord. This would include such preachers as Peter, Paul, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The New Testament consists largely of apostolic preaching as reported through the Early Church. These preachers of the gospel had learned from their Master how to preach.

Christ himself identified with poverty by becoming poor on behalf of man. Jesus had a prophetic concern for the poor as in Matthew 19:21 and John 13:29. Mercy was to be shown to debtors (Luke 7:41). Jesus praised alms giving (Mark 12:42-44). Even a beggar could be saved (Luke 16:22), but Jesus did not come only to eliminate poverty (Mark 14:7). The gospel was to be preached to the poor also (Matt. 11:5; Luke 14:21).

The early church cared for its poor, following the example of Jesus (Acts 2:45; 4:34; 11:29; Gal. 2:10; I Thess. 3:6).

(16) Edwin Charles Dargan, A HISTORY OF PREACHING, Vol.I, P.14.

(17) Andrew W. Blackwood,
THE PREPARATION OF SERMONS, pp.14-15.

In James 2:2, we find that the poor were accepted as members of the church.

In the New Testament preaching is primarily the public proclamation of Christianity to the non-Christian world.⁽¹⁸⁾

The preaching of the primitive Church, had an eschatological setting.⁽¹⁹⁾

Christ and the apostles preached the Kingdom of God. Evidently for the first time, Jesus turned the negative law into the positive commandment,

"So whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them; for this is the law and the prophets."⁽²⁰⁾

The later extension of sanctification to society was a theme of some social preaching, drawn largely from the New Testament.

The preacher should ground himself thoroughly in the religious and Scriptural basis for a new social order. Those who resent sermons on current industrial problems would have to keep silent as to an honest exposition of the prophet Amos, the Lord's Prayer, or the Sermon on the Mount. The Prophets and the Evangelists will help the preacher to become a true prophet and an evangelist. 'Holiness to the Lord' must be written not only on the sacred vessels of the sanctuary but on all the tools of trade; not only on the bells of the priestly robe, but on car and shop bells as well. Entire Sanctification means the consecration of all life, the social order as well as the individual life. So shall the Kingdom come! ⁽²¹⁾

Dietrich Bonhoeffer has often been quoted for his description of Jesus Christ as

"the man for others."

(18) C. H. Dodd,
THE APOSTOLIC PREACHING AND ITS DEVELOPMENTS, P.4.

(19) Ibid., P.77.

(20) Matthew 7:12.

(21) S. Paul Schilling,
METHODISM AND SOCIETY IN THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE, P.79.
Quoted from the METHODIST REVIEW, 104 (1921), 695.

The gospels represent Jesus as a champion of the economically dispossessed. He exalts love for one's neighbor, along with love for God, He reaches out to others who are not within the borders of Israel. He seeks release of captives, prisoners, and slaves. He denounces the scribes and religious leaders who devour the houses of widows. He insists that a man put the care of his own parents ahead of his obligations to his religion. His treatment of women is far different than the customs of that day. He extends sympathy to children, and heals people as he goes along. He insists upon justice as the basis for everyday business. The social preaching of the parables like the Good Samaritan, and encounters such as with the rich young ruler, have had a strong effect upon his followers. Jesus taught that the love of God is best shown by love of fellow man.

Thousands of pages have been written on the social message of Jesus, from many different points of view. It is the purpose here only briefly to summarize Christ's social preaching.

James Stalker in his Yale Lectures on Preaching used the illustration of Christ's preaching to substantiate the preacher as a patriot.

. . . we turn to the record of Christ's own preaching. He is the final standard and incomparable model. But, though He discovered the soul and taught the world the value of the individual, His preaching was not exclusively directed to individuals. It had a public and national side. He cast His protection over publicans and sinners, not only because they were the seed of Abraham; He submitted His claims to the ecclesiastical authorities of the nation, and, when they rejected them, He directed against the religious parties the thunderbolts of His invective.

The tears and words of indescribable tenderness which He poured out upon the city where He was about to be martyred proved that the patriotism of Isaiah and Jeremiah still burned in His heart; and He charged His apostles, when sending them forth to evangelize the world, to begin in Jerusalem. . . .

not to mention the social element in His preaching comprehended in the doctrine of the Kingdom of God. The comparative absence of the patriotic element from apostolic preaching is chiefly due to the fact that the apostles were missionaries in cities and countries where they were strangers. In some respects modern ministers in settled charges are liker the prophets than the apostles.(22)

Troeltsch says that the message of Jesus is not a programme of social reform, but rather the summons to prepare for the coming of the Kingdom in this world order, which has far-reaching social implications. He claims that,

"One of the permanent results of the teaching of Jesus, however, was this idea of a Communism of Love."(23)

"The aim was a new spirit, not a new social order."(24)

Troeltsch has a valid point, however, Jesus also emphasized social concern.

Our Christian solutions of social questions must accordingly be always temporary. This does not make them for their day any the less Christian, for Christianity is essentially a Way - life en route towards the kingdom of God. A preacher may entitle a series of sermons "A More Christian Industrial Order," so disclaiming the attempt to set forth the ultimate ideal. . .(25)

Harvey Cox has written a concise discription of the ministry and message of Jesus, and sees therein an example for the Church today - to be God's avant garde in society.

(22) James Stalker, Op. Cit., P.78.

(23) Ernest Troeltsch, THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, pp.61-63.

(24) Ibid., P.135.

(25) Henry Sloane Coffin, WHAT TO PREACH, P.108.

But what is the character of Jesus's ministry? Jesus himself described it in these terms:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
Because he has anointed me to preach good news
to the poor
He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives
and recovering of sight to the blind,
To set at liberty those who are oppressed
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.
(Luke 4: 18-19)

Jesus thought of his task as threefold. He was to announce the arrival of the new regime. He was to personify its meaning. And he was to begin distributing its benefits. Similarly the church has a threefold responsibility. Theologians call it kerygma (proclamation), diakonia (reconciliation, healing, and other forms of service), and koinonia (demonstration of the character of the new society). The church is the avant-garde of the new regime, but because the new regime breaks in at different points and in different ways, it is not possible to forecast in advance just what appearance the church will have.(26)

The latter part of the New Testament certainly manifests a social passion to match. It speaks of poverty, war, discrimination, immorality, slavery and oppression. The Magnificat has been called the

"battle hymn of democracy."

There was the strong social message of John the Baptist. James makes more explicit what is implicit in the social message of Jesus. The Apostle Paul deals with a variety of social issues: political exploitation, military service, racial and religious intolerance, the consumption of food used in pagan ceremonies, the position of women, propriety of dress, relations with non-Christians, taxation,

(26) Harvey Cox, THE SECULAR CITY, pp.126-127.

prostitution and pederasty, control of disease, relief of poverty, and the handling of civil jurisprudence. All these issues were dealt with according to the principles of Scripture, the witness of the Spirit, and the best information available to meet the conditions of the day.⁽²⁷⁾

In the early church, the sick people were visited and the bread and wine of the Sacrament brought to them, along with what financial help that they might need. The poor, especially the aged and the widows and the orphans, were helped. Others who assisted the church full-time were supported. This aid to the needy of various kinds required congregational funds; and this involved planning, soliciting and collecting.⁽²⁸⁾

Thus the social teaching of the New Testament shows a dominating concern for the welfare of persons; a vital humanitarian interest in people breathes from its pages.

(27) Sherwood Eliot Wirt, Op. Cit., P.15.

(28) See THE MINISTRY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES, P.12.

2. The Church Fathers

Social preaching was very much in evidence in the early Christian Church, although usually it was strongly moralistic in tone and merely paternalistic in regard to the poor.

St. Clement of Rome in THE LETTER TO THE CORINTHIANS says,

"what, then shall we do, brothers? Shall we slacken from doing charity? May the Lord never allow this to happen to us, but let us be diligent to accomplish every good work with earnestness and zeal."(29)

St. Ignatius of Antioch (d. before 117) in his LETTER TO THE SMYRNAEANS reflects on those who live contrary to God's will,

"They have no regard for charity, none for the widow, the orphan, the oppressed, none for the man in prison, the hungry or the thirsty."(30)

He is also concerned about widows and slaves. (31)

The DIDACHE was written fifty years or so after the New Testament, and is the earliest manual of church order that we have. It was especially strong on almsgiving.

Give to everyone who asks, and ask nothing in return; for the Father wishes that a share of His own gifts be given to all. Blessed is the man who gives according to the commandment, for he is without blame. Woe to the man who takes. But should he not be in need, he shall give an account of the why and the wherefore of his taking it. And he will be put in prison and examined strictly about what he did, and "shall not go out from there until he has paid the last cent."

But in this matter the saying also holds:

"Let your alms sweat in your hands until you know to whom you are giving."(32)

Do not turn away from the needy, but share all with your brother and do not claim that it is your own.

(29) THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1973), 1:35.

(30) Ibid., 1:120.

(31) Ibid., 1:125.

(32) Ibid., 1:172.

For, if you are sharers in immortal things,
how much more in mortal.(33)

In Polycarp of Smyrna (d. 156), we are taught about the
ideal presbyter.

The presbyters must be tenderhearted, merciful
toward all, turning back who have gone astray,
visiting the sick, not neglecting widow or orphan
or poor man, abstaining from all anger, respect
of persons, unrighteous judgement, being far from
all love of money, not hastily believing against any
one, not stern in judgment, knowing that we are all
debtors because of sin.(34)

THE LETTER OF BARNABAS describes the way of darkness as paying
no attention to the widow and orphan. They are

"without pity for the poor; do nothing for him
who is oppressed by toil . . . murderers of
children, corrupters of God's creation. They
repel the needy and oppress the afflicted, are
advocates of the rich, unjust judges of the
poor, altogether sinful through and through."(35)

In THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS, there is a strong warning to the
rich that they need to provide sufficient food for the hungry,(36)
that the alms of the rich to the poor are rewarded by God at the
prayer of the poor,(37) and that they should acquire riches before
God by the practice of fraternal charity.(38)

Apologist Justin Martyr (teacher in Rome around 150) relates
some of the ministries of the Church and says that after the
Eucharist there was an offering which was desposited with the
president or bishop, who

"takes care of orphans and widows, and those who
are in bonds, and the strangers who are sojourners
among, and, briefly, he is the protector of all those in need."(39)

- (33) Ibid., 1:174.
- (34) Ibid., 1:139.
- (35) Ibid., 1:221.
- (36) Ibid., 1:252.
- (37) Ibid., 1:290.
- (38) Ibid., 1:288.
- (39) Ibid., 1:291.

The concern of the bishop for the impoverished and the imprisoned is also mentioned by Bishop Dionysius of Corinth, not long after Justin.

For this has been your custom from the beginning:
to do good in divers ways to all the brethren,
and to send supplies to many churches in every
city, now relieving the poverty of the needy,
now making provision, by the supplies which you have
been in the habit of sending from the beginning to
the mines.(40)

During the first several centuries, the ordinary Christian was taught by the clergy to be honest, just and charitable. During these early centuries the Church could not attack or alter the social institutions. It could not stop war, overthrow slavery or relieve economic distress by fundamental changes in economic structures. Its chief sphere of influence was in the family and in the day by day relationships.

Tertullian tells how Christians who suffered for their faith became the

"pensioners of their confession,"

how Christian alms went to feed and bury the poor and to care for orphans, old slaves and shipwrecked sailors.

No doubt these acts of charity were palliatives and no substitute for organized social action through the State. Nor was charity a Christian monopoly. But State action has usually followed individual experiment, and it cannot be an accident or coincidence that State social services have been most far-reaching in countries which have the Christian tradition behind them, even if they have now rejected it. Many such services are simply the nationalization of Christian works of charity.(41)

(40) Ibid., 23:10.

(41) S. L. Greenslade, Op. Cit., pp.19-20.

The Christian Empire came in A.D. 313 when emperors Constantine and Licinius brought persecution to an end and formally gave the Christian faith legal recognition.

If perfect laws alone will not create a perfect society, good legislation is an outward sign of social improvement and an aid towards establishing the external conditions of moral progress. Constantine's legislation was manifold and largely beneficent. . . .

Apart from legislation or social work under government control, Christian charity now swelled into a mighty stream.(42)

Christian emperors led in extensive social reforms throughout their empires.

Nevertheless many permanent legal reforms were set in motion by the Emperors Constantine (280?-337) and Justinian (483-565) that can be laid to the influence of Christianity. Licitious and cruel sports were checked; new legislation was ordered to protect the slave, the prisoner, the mutilated man, the outcast women. Children were granted important legal rights. Infant exposure was abolished. Women were raised from a status of degradation to that of legal protection. Hospitals and orphanages were created to take care of foundlings. Personal feuds and private wars were put under restraint. In cities here and there freedom of conscience was established by law. Branding of slaves was halted. Property reforms were instituted. The spirit of these changes is reflected in the growing corpus of writings of Fathers of the church, which continued to emphasize the Christian duties of alms-giving, charity, kindness to victims of society, and good works.(43)

The functions of mid-third-century presbyters may be vividly pictured in Pseudo-Clement's exhortation to what he called 'philanthropy.'

(42) Ibid., pp.21-22.

(43) Sherwood E. Wirt, Op. Cit., P.31.

"Love all your brethren with grave and compassionate eyes, performing to orphans the part of parents, to widows that of husbands, affording them sustenance with all kindliness, arranging marriages for those who are in their prime, and arranging for employment for the unemployed, and alms to the incapable. . . . Feed the hungry, clothe the naked, visit the sick and the prisoners - help them as you are able - and receive strangers into your homes with alacrity. . . . You will do all these things if you fix love into your minds; and for its entrance there is only one fit means, namely, the common partaking of food."(44)

Jerome (b. 342) mentions in his sermons, charity, alms, poverty and wealth. Wealth is devalued, as in his HOMILY 86 on the Rich Man and Lazarus. The riches of others are torments to those who are in poverty. It is not possible to have wealth both on earth and in hell. He suggests that the example of the poor man be an incentive to us.

The Christian soul, the soul of the monk, the soul of him who naked follows the naked Christ, when it looks with envy upon a rich man, or when it itself revels in wealth and display, may it call to mind Dives; may it ponder well his voice as he cries out and begs for the touch of Lazarus' finger. . . . if we endure the pains of poverty, instantly we are in Abraham's bosom. Blood has its own abode and so has peace. Poverty, too, has its martyrdom; need well borne is martyrdom. . . . How many beggars there are who long to be rich men, and, therefore, commit crime!(45)

Troeltsch points out that early Christianity was not without its social blind spots.

As a legal institution, however, even with all its barbarous penalties, slavery still existed. The Christian Church allowed it to endure, without question, right on into the Middle Ages -- it was only largely modified by the process of economic

(44) THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, Ibid., 1:32.

See also H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams, Op. Cit., P.31.

(45) THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, Op. Cit., 57:208-11.

evolution -- yet the Church was fully conscious of the inconsistency between this institution and the inner freedom and equality which was the Christian ideal. This forms a most typical illustration of the attitude of Christians towards the world; they renounced the world, and yet they compromised with it, and they did not, and could not, dream of making any changes in the social system. (46)

The Fathers viewed slavery as a lawful institution and as one of the irremovable consequences of the Fall. The author of one of the sermons attributed to St. Augustine puts the matter very forcibly when he bids the slaves love and obey their masters from the heart, because it is God who has made these to be masters and the others to be their servants. (47)

John Chrysostom is one example of social preaching during this early period, even though it was perhaps what might be called rather primitive social preaching.

But he was certainly a prophet in the wider, the true sense of the word. His sermons were acts, sometimes heroic acts. They had nearly always an ethical scope, and when he denounced the voices of high and low he did not fail of the mark. He was certainly not a modern man in the ordinary sense. His ideals were those of the desert and the hermit's cell. It was the tragedy of his life that he was placed in the midst of a corrupt capital, at the degenerate court of the Eastern empire. But the crisis and sufferings of his own life are reflected in his speeches, and this gives them their peculiar interest. Violently engaged in contemporary struggles, he has a message for all times. That is the true note of the prophetic dignity. (48)

Chrysostom did not support any particular social system.

Slavery is the only evil to which Chrysostom's attitude is not

(46) Ernest Troeltsch, Op. Cit., Vol.I, P.133.

(47) THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, Ibid., 38:82.

See also Cyril E. Hudson and Maurice B. Reckitt, THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD, P.92.

(48) Yngve Brilioth, Op. Cit., pp.4-5.

uncompromising because of its deep roots in the society of his time. Although he never forgot the slaves, he did not mobilize his power to abolish slavery. Chrysostom teaches that wealth is nothing and poverty is nothing. He is not against wealth but against avarice, rapacity and luxury and he exhorted the rich not to bear themselves in a haughty or condescending manner toward the poor. He dared to rebuke publicly the luxury and ostentation of the hard-hearted rich. Chrysostom tried to organize and expand social relief work and nursing activities.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Chrysostom preached that social problems came from sin that affected both individuals and society.

Chrysostom did not reject the institution of private property nor say that wealth in itself was bad. The rich must not live for themselves, indulging in luxury or display, but must care for those who are in need.

No other Father of the Church recommends as strongly as Chrysostom the distribution of wealth and private property to those in need.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The preaching of Augustine (d. 430) and its social implications ought also to be examined briefly. Brillioth has written a summary.

(49) THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, Ibid., 33:41.

See also J. G. FOUYAS, THE SOCIAL MESSAGE OF THOSE HOMILIES OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM WHICH WERE DELIVERED IN CONSTANTINOPLE FROM A.D. 398 TO A.D. 404, pp.214-225.

(50) See Ibid., pp. v, III.

There is only one of the ancient Fathers that can be mentioned as a preacher beside, and perhaps above, Chrysostom. In Saint Augustine the Latin sermon suddenly reveals an amazing maturity. At least, we know very little of what may have gone before. Tertullian may have preached, but we have no material to judge from. The homiletical remains of Saint Cyprian are not very striking; he quotes Scripture abundantly and gives a simple, practical application, denouncing vice and extolling virtue. In the tracts of Saint Zeno of Verona we have specimens of a more elaborate, rhetorical eloquence.(51)

The writings of Augustine, and particularly the sermons, are saturated with biblical material. There is not so much general moralizing exhortation as in the works of the earlier Latin Fathers, although there is no lack of ethical content in his discourses. This, however, is directed mostly against unchastity and adultery.

It is rarely that a leader in the world of thought is also a great preacher. It has happened only a few times in the history of the Church, and only then has the prophetic office been fully realized.(52)

Augustine wrestled with the age-long problem of riches and poverty in one of his homilies. He preached that the rich and the poor, although they may appear contrary, are nevertheless very necessary to each other. For, if all men were poor, there would be none to support the other. If all were rich, then no one would work; and so the world would at once decay. Therefore the rich man has been created for the benefit of the poor, and the poor man for the benefit of the rich. The Fathers were in agreement upon that saying of the Gospel --

"the poor ye have always with you," etc.,

(51) Yngve Brilioth, Op. Cit., P.6.

(52) Ibid., P.11.

where they set forth the reasons why God has allowed the poor to remain among us, when nevertheless he is able to provide sufficient for all. First, just as a mother provides enough for her child when she gives sufficient to the nurse whence can nourish both herself and the infant, so the Lord provides enough for the poor while so much is bestowed on the rich whence they can supply food and drink to themselves and the poor also. Secondly, the poor are allowed to exist in order that God may test the love of the rich. Therefore He willed that the poor should be in want, so that by this means He might prove that rich men are His friends and not His enemies. Thirdly, to increase the merit of the poor. (53)

St. Augustine emphasized almsgiving in his sermons. During the Lenten Season he preached the increase of good works.

"There are two wings of prayer on which one flies to God: if any fault is committed against him, he forgives the offender and he gives alms to the needy." (54)

If a farmer is not justified in seeking a harvest when he knows he has sowed no seed, how much more unreasonable does he who has refused to hear the petition of a poor man seek a generous response from God? For, in the person of the poor, He who experiences no hunger wished Himself to be fed. Therefore, let us not spurn our God who is needy in His poor, so that we in our need may be filled in Him who is rich. We have the needy, and we ourselves have need; let us give, therefore, so that we may receive. (55)

Especially during the days of Lent, almsgiving is to be increased,

all corporal and spiritual adversities are to be overcome by almsgiving, fasting and prayer." (56)

- (53) THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, Ibid.,
See also G.R. Owst, LITERATURE AND PULPIT IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, pp.560-561.
- (54) THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH, Op. Cit., 38:87-8.
- (55) Ibid., 38:89.
- (56) Loc. Cit.

'Give alms and all things are clean to you.'
Remember my brethren, what God is going to say
to those destined to stand on His right hand.
He will not say: 'You accomplished these and
those great deeds,' but He will say: 'I was
hungry and you gave me to eat.' To those destined
to stand on His left hand He will not say:
'You performed these and those evil deeds,'
but He will say: 'I was hungry and you did not
give me to eat.' The former, by reason of their
almsgiving, will go into life everlasting;
the latter by reason of their barrenness,
into everlasting fire.(57)

In relation to usury, Augustine preached,

"Yes, indeed, give to the man and do not turn
away from him who seeks a loan. But take only
so much as you have given. . . .
Do not make new troubles for him whose burden
you once lightened."(58)

He speaks of the need for justice.

Much of Augustine's preaching also includes moral admonitions
such as in regard to drunkenness, gluttony, adultery and lust.

St. Valerian (c. 439-460) in his homilies, also speaks of
helping the poor.

Consequently, we should devote ourselves to mercy
and almsgiving, for this purpose, that, when the
Lord of heaven and earth will come, He may not
point out among other defects of our soul the
nakedness of the poor, or obtrude upon our gaze
the misfortunes of the wretched. Consequently,
too, let no one despise the poorly clad, or berate
the beggar with harsh words. Among all other
offerings, this is a sacrificial gift pleasing to
God, this is an array of salutary sacrifices,
that you help the wretched in their need; and
that, to avoid being branded with infidelity,
when you come into possession of what you prayed
for, you carry through the fulfillment of your
promise.(59)

(57) Ibid., 38:387.

(58) Ibid., 38:247.

(59) Ibid., 17:328.

St. Caesarius of Arles preached about drunkenness, almsgiving, adultery, abortion, avarice, orphans and the poor, during the sixth Century. He strongly emphasized in his sermons that the poor ought to be fed and clothed and provided for in other ways.

"Moreover I believe, brethren, that our Lord has permitted poor people to live in this world in order to prove the faith of the rich in the person of the poor, or in order that He may have compassion of the rich in their mercy to the poor." (60)

Several sermons are completely on this subject, for example, the discourse on sharing the bread with the hungry, that almsgiving is better than fasting, that strangers should be received in some corner of the house, and that clothing should be provided. (61)

The Constantinian revolution had caught the Church without a considered theory of society. (62) Some withdrew while others like Augustine sought to meet the need. Augustine and others blamed sin as being the prime cause of the social ills of society. True happiness could never be complete in this world, and one must accept the social results of sin as being within the divine plan. Hence there was the spirit of Christian resignation and despair among social reformers. Accepting such theories, the Church was largely thrown back upon philanthropy. Slavery remained, but thousands of slaves were manumitted and thousands more were better treated. The status of women improved, hospitals sprang up, the care of foundlings was transferred to the Church, every diocese had its roll of the poor and needy. That the Church had little or no applicable economic

(60) Ibid., 66:47.

(61) Ibid., 66:53-58.

The KORAN (about 640 A.D.) is especially strong in exhortation regarding the care of orphans.

(62) See S. L. Greenslade, Op. Cit., P.26.

theory is only too true; but no one else had. Again, if pacifism was repudiated, the grounds of a just war were explored and delimited. The Christian denunciation of all aggressive war was a clear advance upon the international ethics of the ancient world.⁽⁶³⁾

Then there was the ambiguous social theory fostered by Augustine's CITY OF GOD.

There was another paradoxical consequence of the early Christian attitude to the State. Since State action had never been considered a manifestation of love, many Christians actually preferred charity (which is love) to State services. On the other hand, reflection upon the ever thorny issue of the relations between Church and State, such as we find at its most profound in St. Augustine, who based it upon the more ultimate distinction between the Two Cities of God and of this world, produced an attempt to distinguish the spheres of Church and State, and on the assumption that the sovereign would henceforth be a Christian, bound by a Christian concept of justice, to leave secular concerns to secular authority. True, the ruler was in principle open to ecclesiastical criticism on moral grounds, but in practice the Church must often have taken the easy line of minding its own business.⁽⁶⁴⁾

With growing social legislation, however, it appears plausible that there was a later decline in the social concern of the Church.

The later Fathers are clear on the duty of Christians to apply their distinctive principles to social relations up to a certain point. Yet there was a strong, perhaps a growing tendency, to make

(63) Ibid., P.28.

(64) See Ibid., pp.29-30.

the State itself responsible for the degree to which social justice did or did not mould laws and customs, and not to press for progressive approximation to Christ's full principles in that sphere. (65)

The period from the early Christian Church to the middle ages marked many more foundation stones being laid in the Christian response to social issues. It has been seen that social concern and social preaching were not modern innovations, but born in the Old Testament times and immensely strengthened with new energizing spirit in the New Testament period. Social preaching was thus rooted in the prophets of Israel where responsibility for social justice in national life was highly evident, but much of the New Testament can actually be classified as social preaching. The early Church was struggling for its very existence during the first few centuries, but gradually there evolved social action and social theory, until the medieval Church controlled all areas of life. It appears, however, that social preaching declined when other forms of Church or State social response grew stronger.

(65) See HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF CHRISTIANITY, P.71.

D. THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE REFORMATION

By the middle ages, the Church had come to dominate all aspects of contemporary life. Politics, economics, art, education, social welfare -- were all dependent upon the Church and subject to her regulation and control. The medieval Church's view of society, as of religion, was static. The possibility of extensive social changes was hardly conceived, and those who thought of State and Church as progressive communities tended to become more or less definitely heretical or, at least, anti-clerical. It was rarely recognised that Christianity introduced new social relations except in the directly moral and personal sphere. St. Thomas Aquinas, who occasionally seemed to approach the idea of progress, declared definitely:

"The new law should add nothing to the old with regard to external obligations."(66)

Nevertheless, during the early middle ages, monasticism helped to preserve charities, ancient learning and many useful crafts. There was a chain of inns, hospitals, foundling homes, old people's homes and other institutions which sprang up over Europe. The bishops generally strove to defend their people against oppression and to keep alive Christian morality. The Church was the principal social institution, and the bishops were ceaselessly occupied with public affairs. They sat in the House of Lords and its predecessors and for centuries after the Norman conquest successive kings looked to the Archbishop of Canterbury for political counsel.

(66) See HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE SOCIAL EFFECTS OF CHRISTIANITY, P.83. quoted from the SUMMA THEOLOGICALS of Thomas Aquinas, 1a, 2ae, qu. 108, art. 2.

Canossa remained in men's memories and imaginations to symbolize the supremacy of the Church over the State. Innocent III (1198-1216), a far greater personality and statesman than any secular prince of his day, preached his consecration sermon on the text, "See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, and to destroy, and to overthrow; to build, and to plant."(Jeremiah 1, 10)(67)

Morality was increasingly codified, as can be seen in marriage, the Church courts, ecclesiastical controls of wills, criminal law, and wars. Canon law was thus a means by which the Church controlled social life. Pope and canonist, bishop and parish priest, preached content with one's lot, however lowly in this world.

Troeltsch has ably summarized the spirit of medieval economic teaching:

The whole spirit of this way of thinking on economic matters may be summed up thus: property and gain are based upon the personal performance of work; goods are exchanged only when necessary, and then only according to the principles of a just price, which does not give an undue advantage to anyone; (this 'just price' is best regulated by the Government), consumption is regulated (a) in accordance with the principle of moderation, which only permits the natural purpose of the maintenance of existence to be fulfilled, and (b) which makes room for a generosity which takes the needs of others into account; at the same time great differences in social position and in fortune, and therefore in the exercise of liberality, are fully recognized.(68)

There was, however, a gradual trend toward more protest against the tight controls of the Church, which eventually broke out in a torrent in the Renaissance. Organized giving was apparently only sporadic and localized in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

(67) S. L. Greenslade, Op. Cit., P.50.

(68) Ernest Troeltsch, Op. Cit., Vol.I, P.320.

In the middle ages, if a man died or was killed, his widow and children had somehow to fend for themselves. If the breadwinner in a family was sick or unable to work, then his wife must somehow manage to carry on. Their only hope, then lay with the Church.

But the Church was individualistic and strongly other-worldly. Suffering and misfortune were often stressed as spiritual benefits. Monasticism could offer very little to society outside the cloister. Even though it provided a good deal of hospitality and poor relief, it did so primarily in order to save its own soul by the exercise of charity. Thus the Middle Ages were in many ways a static society, where the idea of progress and the Kingdom of God on earth were almost totally absent, although the Church was active in poor relief and education and preached the 'just price.'

The medieval preachers were intensely biblical, and the homiletical handbooks of the period were used as resources for social sermons. G. W. Owst, in an interesting chapter: "The Preaching of Satire and Complaints" (in the book LITERATURE AND PULPIT IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND), has made it clear that the sermon did become a factor of real practical importance in the social crisis which passed over England in the fourteenth century. In such a collection as Bromyard's SUMMA PRAEDICANTIUM there is much material also for the criticism of social conditions. And a similar tendency is found in many of the continental preachers of the same period. Owst has a superb study of the sermon literature of Medieval England. Chapters V through VII, "The Preaching of Satire and Complaint," and Chapter IX, "A Literary Echo of the Social Gospel," are of importance in the

study of social preaching from the historical perspective. The ruthless satire and penetrating criticism of the medieval sermons did much to undermine the authority of the Church and worked against the strongholds of feudalism. A continuous stream of scorn and reproof poured forth from the pulpits. The ears of the people must have grown quite familiar with homiletic phrases that often sounded to them like threats of destruction for the powerful and the rich. Such persistent ventilation of the sufferings and wrongs of the poor was not exceeded, probably, by the most outspoken champions of social revolution in any age.

The rich and the powerful are singled out for the worst degree of criticism. Just as we are bound to see, therefore, the effects of age-long pulpit invective against the church in the subsequent violence and raillery of the Reformation, so we may expect to find the fruits of these parallel attacks on feudal power and privilege in the future struggles for popular liberty, from the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, onwards. . . .

M. Petit-Dutaillis, in the essay referred to, was enquiring into the possible influence of clerical preaching upon the insurgents of 1381. In his verdict he has already gone some way towards determining the correct limits of this regular homiletic indictment of wealth and privilege in fourteenth-century England. The extant sermons of Mendicant and Secular give no evidence whatever of communistic doctrine, such as Froissart imputed to the Chaplain John Balle, and Langland to the friars. On the other hand -- to quote the words of M. Petit-Dutaillis himself -- in all of them is. . . . the fiercest denunciation of all those who oppress the poor, be they Lords, knights, lawyers, merchants or ecclesiastics.(69)

Although some clergy did support the existing social order as the expressed work and will of Heaven, the large majority declared fearlessly the injustices that they saw, even of direct responsibility ended there. Indirectly, none the less, the mere unceasing ventilation

(69) G. R. Owst, Op. Cit., P.287-288.

of the crimes of nobleman and prelate in this fashion had a profound two-fold effect. In the first place, it proved to be an incitement to the discontented masses, leading them to agitate and rebel for a time. In the second place, it played at length into the hands of the monarchy, enabling it to assert itself triumphantly as the sole champion of law and order in the State over the nobility and a decadent church.

"The stinging blows of its satire were dealt out wherever they were needed, without any of that petty truckling to democracy which mars now and again some of our modern preaching." (70)

This was true despite the vast differences of wealth and occupation existing between man and master on the feudal domain. It is to the lasting credit of the preachers that they didn't fail to probe beneath outward deed and appearance to the hidden thoughts and motives of the mind.

Attacks are made on the false justice of the courts, the lavish tournaments, the morals of the clergy, and commonly against the false weights and measures of the middle class. Denunciations were preached against women's beauty, swearers, drunkards and the lack of family respect.

The sermons of Master Ralph of Acton, reminds one of the same argument of Augustine concerning the rich and the poor.

When God could have made all men strong, wise and rich, He was unwilling to do so. He wished instead that these men should be strong, those weak; these wise, those foolish; these rich and those poor. For if all were strong, wise and wealthy, one would not be in need of the other. Again, if all were feeble, foolish and poor, one would not be able

(70) Ibid., P.361.

to help the other. Therefore He willed these men to be strong and healthy, wise or rich, that they might save their own soul by helping others through love of them: those others He willed to be weak or foolish or in want, that they might save their own souls by enduring hardship in patience. Hence God says -- "The poor ye have always with you." (71)

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the golden age in the history of the English pulpit. Similes drawn from characters and scenes of everyday life; figures of allegory, often Scriptural in origin but non-Scriptural in development, the ancestry of PILGRIM'S PROGRESS: Bible stories, and legends of the saints; and, commonest and most popular of all, the rich and varied class of moralized anecdotes, whether true or fictitious, drawn from sources both ancient and contemporary, secular as well as religious; all alike were grist to the preacher's mill.

It was probably the preaching friars who indulged most frequently in the use of satire and complaint in their sermons. Getting right in among the people whom the Church had so long neglected, they adopted a style of address more suited to their audiences, appealing as it did more directly to the feelings, being more popular and more dramatic.

The preaching of the Friars was followed by the zealous John Wycliffe and the Lollard movement, with more scriptural and evangelical faith. These Lollard preachers of the fourteenth century ministered not only in churches but also in the open market-places, bringing a spirit of new life and reform.

(71) Ibid., P.561.

Wycliffe and his Poor Preachers, however, had a preoccupation with 'the naked text,' rejected all popular methods, and failed to win over the masses of the people. His main concern was for right intellectual thinking, and he refused to indulge in the methods of the popular preachers.

One of the most outstanding examples of social preaching during this period can be seen in the messages of Savonarola (1452-1498). Savonarola was no great expositor. He had no use for the liturgical setting. Here the prophetic element is paramount. But perhaps that was one of the reasons why his activity remained without noticeable influence on the later development. Bishop Creighton wrote a carefully-weighed judgment of Savonarola's career:

The preaching of Savonarola had led a large number of citizens to regard Charles VIII as the scourge of God who should purify the Church; and Florentine vanity was gratified by the thought that she was to serve as a model to the regenerate world. The influence of Savonarola was a strange mixture of good and evil. It awakened a higher sense of Christian zeal and of moral effort; but it also rested on a definite scheme of politics, according to which Charles VIII was a heaven sent deliverer, and the rights which Florence recognized as inherent in her own citizens were denied to the citizens of Pisa. As a moral and religious teacher Savonarola deserves all praise; as a politician he taught Florence to take up a position adverse to the interests of Italy, to trust to France blindly in spite of all disappointments, and to war against Pisa for casting off the Florentine yoke in the same way as Florence herself had cast off the yoke of the Medici. We cannot wonder that this attitude awakened no sympathy in Italy, and that the efforts of the league were directed to the subjugation of Florence.(72)

(72) H. Hensley Henson, THE LIBERTY OF PROPHECYING, p.181-182.
quoted from HISTORY OF THE PAPACY, Vol.III, p.217.

Even in some of his Advent sermons, Savonarola denounced the corruption of the civic leaders of his day:

These wicked princes are said to chastise the sins of their subjects; they are truly a sad snare for their souls; their courts and palaces are the refuge of all the beasts and monsters of the earth, for they give shelter to ribalds and malefactors.(73)

It is evident that Savonarola's political views were largely mistaken, and the ultimate consequences of his political action disastrous.

Medieval society was bound to fail because it was based upon injustice.

In fact medieval Christian social thought suffered from four major weaknesses. It had an exaggerated theory of sin, so that it said, for example, "Private property is due to sin," instead of saying, "What is due to sin must be changed." It failed too often to push its principles to the point of conflict. It failed to tackle fundamentals, as for example the fact that the simplicity, similarity and equality which it held to be involved in natural law, were denied by the practice of the papacy and by the functional theory of society. So it wrote of equality in a serf society; it spoke of common ownership in a society of private property; it preached functionalism in a growing absolutism; it forbade usury but permitted borrowing at interest from non-Christians. Above all it permitted the idea of the Kingdom of God to be engulfed in the idea of the Church.(74)

During this period of the middle ages to the reformation, the Church dominated all of life. Social preaching consisted mostly of moralizing exhortations and satirical protests.

(73) Clyde E. Fant, Jr. & William M. Pinson, Jr. editors, TWENTY CENTURIES OF GREAT PREACHING: AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREACHING, 13 Vols. (Waco, Texas: Word Incorporated, 1971), 1:271.

(74) Stanley G. Evans, Op. Cit., pp.116-117.

But there was generally a static social theory that ruled and much of the social preaching was little more than scraps of social concern. Although the social sermons were quite foolish at times and even misled the people on other occasions, here was a necessary period of prelude for the coming reformation -- as the masses were incited and the authority of the Church undermined.



E. THE REFORMATION TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. Luther

We see the medieval Church, certain of the principles of social action, but often uncertain in execution; driven into collective action, but destroying its effects; given to good works, but not whole-heartedly so, for fear of compromising with the world; understanding the breath and depth of true charity, yet often failing to exercise it. The effect of the social and economic change which began with the discovery of the New World and the Reformation and culminated in the nineteenth century upheaval of industrialization can only be briefly summarized here, but it was to affect radical changes. One of the most striking effects of change was the substitution of these worldly values for other worldly ones; but this was largely unaccompanied by any greater concern for the plight of the poor. There grew the assumption that riches are the supreme object of human goals and the criterion of success. Surplus giving became unpopular as increasing numbers of people acquired growing wealth.

Growing social distress led to the Tudor Poor Laws, consolidated in the Elizabethan Poor Law Act of 1601. As a measure of collective action (each parish was responsible for its own poor) this was reasonably successful until the sheer volume of poverty and the population explosion overwhelmed it in the early nineteenth century. But in a period of low wages, widespread unemployment, and an inexorable economic system which accepted both as right and

necessary, need was narrowed down to the meaning of the first three of the corporal works of mercy (food, drink and clothing); lack of what is necessary for survival. It became impossible to think of the poor in any wider frame of reference, until means had been found to deal with this basic problem.

When the age of the Reformation begins, economics is still a branch of ethics, and ethics of theology; all human activities are treated as falling within a single scheme. . . . the Church itself is regarded as a society wielding theoretical, and sometimes practical, authority in social affairs. The secularization of political thought, which was to be the work of the next two centuries, had profound reactions on social speculation, and by the Restoration the whole perspective, at least in England, has been revolutionized. Religion has been converted from the keystone which holds together the social edifice into one department within it, and the idea of a rule of right is replaced by economic expediency as the arbiter of policy and the criterion of conduct.(75)

With the coming of the Reformation, there was still maintained the Church's corporate efforts to regulate social, political and economic life. Calvin and others were children of medieval thought. The social theories of Luther and Latimer, of Bucer and Bullinger, of sixteenth-century Anabaptists and seventeenth-century Levellers, of Puritans like Baxter, Anglicans like Laud, Baptists like Bunyan, Quakers like Bellers, are all the children of medieval parents. Luther, conservative in his social theory, defended the traditional medieval controls on economic life such as the just price and the ban of usury.

Luther argued, that a Christian Government should then be able to settle all social questions which appeared on its own authority.

(75) R. H. Tawney, Op. Cit., P.278-279.

These social questions were mainly concerned with the problem of the support of those who, for some reason or another, were unable to earn their living within the social hierarchy, conceived as a system of callings. This might have been the end of all direct ecclesiastical social activity, and the beginning of a policy of purely secular social welfare and care of the poor. The territorial Princes, however, whose authority was still far from being centralized, and the free cities which were burdened with heavy tasks, undertook this very imperfectly. Luther's helpers therefore intervened, e.g. Bugenhagen, who was a good organizer, and they took over the task of the care of the sick and the poor, which lay so near to the heart of the Church.

Troeltsch does not appear to be altogether fair, when he contrasts Lutheranism with Calvinism.

Here, also Lutheranism, which is happy in the midst of wretchedness, is entirely illogical; it takes impressions just as they come, both the misery and vexation of the world, and also thankful enjoyment of the gifts of God; neither the one nor the other really matter, since through justification by faith the world has been overcome.

The Calvinist's attitude towards the world is quite different. He finds it impossible to deny the world in theory and enjoy it in practice. This lack of system is contrary to his reflective and logical mind. He cannot leave the world alone in all its horror and comfort himself with the thought of a "finished salvation." (76)

Troeltsch has pointed out that both Protestants and Catholics emphasized the idea of a Church-civilization, in which all departments of life, the State and society, education and science, law,

(76) Ernest Troeltsch, Op. Cit., P.606.

commerce and industry, were to be regulated in accordance with the law of God.⁽⁷⁷⁾ This conception dominates the utterances of Luther on social issues.

R. H. Tawney states that,

"Luther accepted the social hierarchy, with its principles of status and subordination, though he knocked away the ecclesiastical rungs in the ladder."⁽⁷⁸⁾

Tawney points out that this combination of religious radicalism and economic conservatism is not uncommon. Then in comparing Luther to Calvin he says:

No contrast could be more striking than that between his social theory and the outlook of Calvin. Calvin, with all his rigour, accepted the main institutions of a commercial civilization, and supplied a creed to the classes which were to dominate the future. The eyes of Luther were on the past. He saw no room in a Christian society for those middle classes whom an English statesman once described as the natural representatives of the human race. International trade, banking and credit, capitalist industry, the whole complex of economic forces, which, next to his own revolution, were to be the mightiest solvent of the medieval world, seem to him to belong in their very essence to the kingdom of darkness which the Christian will shun. . . . When he discusses economic questions at length, as in his LONG SERMON ON USURY in 1520, or his tract ON TRADE AND USURY in 1524, his doctrines are drawn from the strictest interpretation of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, unsoftened by the qualifications with which canonists themselves had attempted to adapt its rigours to the exigencies of practical life.⁽⁷⁹⁾

In order to try to be more fair, let us look at the social theory of Luther as it is mentioned by Wilhelm Pauck.

It is therefore not surprising that, at the very beginning, Luther was led to propose the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers, thus doing away with the distinction between clergymen and laymen.

(77) See Ibid., pp.44-52.

(78) R. H. Tawney, Op. Cit., P.93.

(79) Ibid., P.94.

This teaching is an eminently social one: every believer in the gospel is a priest, i.e., a mediator and intercessor between God and men. He must transmit to others the power of the gospel that has laid hold of him. He must express his faith in loving social action and thereby communicate it to others. All Christians are such ministers; they cannot but bring about a new kind of society - the fellowship of believers.

"God has placed his Church in the midst of the world among countless undertakings and callings in order that Christians should not be monks but live with one another in social fellowship and manifest among men the works and practices of faith." This was the conclusion Luther drew from the idea of the universal fellowship of believers.(80)

Tawney concludes, however, that Luther was not consistent.

"He believed that it was possible to maintain the content of medieval social teaching, while rejecting its sanctions. . . ."(81)

Also, when Luther was confronted with a request for advice concerning usury, he retreats into the clouds:

The preacher shall preach only the Gospel rule, and leave it to each man to follow his own conscience. Let him who can receive it, receive it; he cannot be compelled thereto further than the Gospel leads willing hearts whom the spirit of God urges forward.(82)

Tawney asserts that the teaching of Luther had a negative influence on social thought

". . . . it riveted on the social content of Protestantism a dualism which, as its implications were developed, emptied religion of its social content, and society of its soul."(83)

- (80) THE MINISTRY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES, Op. Cit., P.112.
Quoted partly from the Weimar Edition of Luther's Works;
TISCHREDEN (TABLE TALK); Vol.4, P.62, 1.5.
- (81) R. A. Tawney, Op. Cit., P.98.
- (82) Ibid., P.100. Quoted from Neumann, GESCHICHTE DES WUCHERS IN DEUTSCHLAND, Beilage F, pp.618-619.
- (83) Ibid., pp.100-101. Quoted partly from Wace and Buchheim, CONCERNING CHRISTIAN LIBERTY, pp.258-259.

However, Luther did have a strong interest in political affairs; he wrote on usury and the community chest; he preached responsibility in government, loving one's neighbor, city and the common welfare and against greed and usury.

2. Calvin

Calvin had a positive and dynamic sense of the role of the State in regulating society. He maintained that,

"the state should serve the Church after the manner of the Kings of Israel, and public life should be controlled by the ministers after the manner of the prophets."(84)

The community at Geneva was highly comprehensive in its social influence. It was into this Calvinistic social tradition that Scotland was later to enter. Calvin was energetic on behalf of the poor. He secured the foundation of a hospital and a poor-house and got the silk industry started in Geneva to provide work for the unemployed. He insisted on the literal cleaning-up of the city. He also founded the University of Geneva.

Calvin above all others, became the great expositor, the greatest perhaps in the history of the Church since the days of Chrysostom. From 1549 onwards a stenographer took down some two thousand sermons of Calvin's. He was really intent on the task of expounding the Bible. He stood in the pulpit, at the command of the Lord. On the other hand, Calvin was fully aware of the preacher's duty to adapt his words to the power of understanding of his hearers, to speak into their actual, concrete situation. And he fulfils a prophet's task also in so far as he interprets the activity of God in the course of history, and makes the word, the will of God, an active factor in that history in which he himself is engaged - the history of Geneva, the history of Europe, and the history of the world.

(84) Roland H. Bainton, "Ernest Troeltsch - Thirty Years After," THEOLOGY TODAY, April 1951, P.87.

The social theory of Calvinism teaches fellowship, the worth of the individual personality, hard work and democracy. Calvin worked against the dominant families, and influenced the elections, by stirring up the masses by his preaching, and by the use of denunciation and the censure of ungodly or unreasonable laws. In spite of its patriarchal spirit, Calvinism still had a positive influence upon the social ideals, not only within the Church, but within the whole of Christian Society in general.

Troeltsch has pointed out the wide ramifications of Calvin's teaching on vocation.

From the economic and social point of view the consequences of this conception of the 'calling' were extraordinary. It raised the ordinary work of one's profession (within one's vocation) and the ardour with which secular work was prosecuted to the level of a religious duty in itself; from a mere method of providing for material needs it became an end in itself, providing scope for the exercise of faith within the labour of the 'calling.' That gave rise to the ideal of work for work's sake which forms the intellectual and moral assumption which lies behind the modern bourgeois way of life. Within Lutheranism, however, the consequences of this conception only had a limited influence.(85)

Tawney says that the path of Calvinism has been strewn with revolutions and makes a striking contrast with Lutheranism.

where Lutheranism had been socially conservative, deferential to established political authorities, the exponent of a personal, almost a quietistic, piety, Calvinism was an active and radical force. It was a creed which sought, not merely to purify the individual, but to reconstruct Church and State, and to renew society by penetrating every department of life, public as well as private, with the influence of religion.

(85) Ernest Troeltsch, Op. Cit., pp.609-610.

Zwingli, for example, who, in his outlook on society stood midway between Luther and Calvin, insists on the oft-repeated thesis that private property originates in sin; warns the rich that they can hardly enter the Kingdom of Heaven. . . . and, while emphasizing that interest must be paid when the State sanctions it, condemns it in itself as contrary to the law of God.(86)

Calvinism stood, not only for a new doctrine of theology and ecclesiastical government, but for a new scale of moral values and a new ideal of social conduct.

Both an intense individualism and a rigorous Christian Socialism could be deduced from Calvin's doctrine. Which of them predominated depended on differences of political environment and of social class. It depended, above all, on the question whether Calvinists were, as at Geneva and in Scotland, a majority, who could stamp their ideals on the social order, or, as in England, a minority, living on the defensive beneath the suspicious eyes of a hostile Government.(87)

The Swiss reformers treated the burning issues of pauperism as being a question of character. Calvin quoted with approval the words of St. Paul,

"if a man will not work, neither shall he eat,"

condemned indiscriminate almsgiving, and urged that the ecclesiastical authorities should regularly visit every family to ascertain whether its members were idle, or drunken, or otherwise undesirable.

Oecolampadius wrote two tracts on the relief of the poor. Bullinger lamented the army of beggars produced by monastic charity, and secured part of the emoluments of a dissolved abbey for the maintenance of a school and the assistance of the destitute. In the plan for the

(86) R. H. Tawney, Op. Cit., P.102-103.

(87) Ibid., P.112-113.

reorganization of poor relief at Zurich, which as drafted by Zwingli in 1525, all mendicancy was strictly forbidden; travellers were to be relieved on condition that they left the town next day; provision was to be made for the sick and aged in special institutions; no inhabitant was to be entitled to relief who wore ornaments or luxurious clothes, who failed to attend church, or who played cards or was otherwise disreputable. The basis of his whole scheme was the duty of industry and the danger of relaxing the incentive to work.

We need not go into the debate over the relationship between capitalism and the Protestant ethic, except to mention several points regarding this familiar controversy. First, capitalism was flourishing long before the Reformation. Secondly, until late in the seventeenth century, the bulk of social teaching among Lutherans, Calvinists and Anglicans was conservative, almost medieval, and decidedly hostile to any relaxation of social control over individual action. Thirdly, certain elements in Protestant teaching, particularly about work, luxury and individual responsibility, assisted the growth of large-scale industry and commerce on an individualistic and capitalistic basis, though the emancipation of business methods from morality was certainly contrary to its intention.

3. Other Reformers

Hugh Latimer was one of the most vivid pulpit personalities of the sixteenth century. He was utterly fearless in an age of grim persecutions. He was direct in his statements and outspoken in his opinions, whether with the king and court or with the crowd at St. Paul's Cross. Look at his outburst against unpreaching prelates:

So troubled with lordly living, they be so placed in palaces, couched in courts, ruffling in their tents, dancing in their dominions, burdened with ambassage, pampering of their paunches, like a monk that maketh his jubilee; munching in their mangers, and mocking in their gay manors and mansions and so troubled with loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend to it.

(Sermon of the Plough, 1548) (88)

The political, educational and social implications of the preaching of John Knox are well known. He instructed the Scottish and English nobles in their duty towards the cause of reform. Knox found, however, that obedience to the government in secular matters and the policy of non-violence were not effective against the Catholic control of government. He then demanded that monarchs be chosen and controlled similiarly to judges, and that there was a right and duty of armed resistance. He summoned private persons, through voluntary associations and on their own initiative, into the work of religious reformation and the formation of churches, implying also that, if necessary, they ought to take an aggressive share in the exercise of political power.

(88) Arthur Pollard, ENGLISH SERMONS, P.9.

Brillioth examines the preaching of John Knox and then concludes with several pointed questions.

In the preaching of John Knox the exegetical as well as the prophetic elements are prominent: he gives a homiletical exposition of his texts, and goes on to an application which makes the word a living factor in the contemporary situation, exalting the pure gospel of salvation and denouncing his idolatrous opponents. But how long did the spirit of prophecy survive? It seems to have been quenched by a painstaking exegetical exposition, until the Evangelical Revival in the nineteenth century called forth a new eagerness really to get through to the souls with the word of life. But how far, in Scotland and elsewhere, is there anything left of a distinctive Presbyterian preaching?(89)

Knox strongly fostered the doctrine of popular sovereignty, as he expressed it in his famous interview with Mary Stuart. She accused him of striving for power, an enemy of the royalty and an instigator of rebellion. Knox replied:

"God forbid that I should grasp at the exercise of power or set subjects free to do exactly as they like. My one aim is that Prince and people alike should obey God."(90)

Scotland became the benefactor of Presbyterian democracy and educational ideals.

In a series of lectures on Prophetic preaching, David MacLennan told the following interesting anecdote.

Jesus our Lord would never have been hustled off to Calvary had he indulged in pious generalities or evaded specific applications of His timeless truth. If the insinuating voice of prudence bids you be careful lest you offend powerful interests in your community, remember that when you speak the truth in love you are in a glorious if comparatively small company. The resources of courage, fortitude,

(89) Yngve Brillioth, Op. Cit., P.31.

(90) Ernest Troeltsch, Op. Cit., P.634.

and good sense which were theirs, may be yours too. Among this company of the undaunted servants of the word was that Scottish minister of St. Andrew's who annoyed King James II. Irritated by his forthright preaching, the monarch cried from his pew, "You'll either speak sense or come down from that pulpit!" The preacher's retort was this, "I'll neither speak sense nor come down from this pulpit!"(91)

In Scotland the views of the reformers as to economic ethics did not differ much from those of the Church before the Reformation. Gentlemen were exhorted to be content with their rents, and the Churches were required to make provision for the poor. It was declared that,

"Oppression of the poor by exactions, and deceiving of them in buying or selling by wrong mete or measure. . . do properly appertain to the Church of God, to punish the same as God's word commandeth."(92)

The interpretation given to oppressing the poor is shown by the punishment of a usurer and of a defaulting debtor before the Kirk Sessions of St. Andrews. The relief of the poor was in 1579 made the statutory duty of ecclesiastical authorities in Scotland, seven years after it had in England been finally transferred to the State. The arrangement under which in rural districts it reposed down to 1846 on the shoulders of ministers, elders and deacons, was a survival from an age in which the real State in Scotland had been represented, by the Church of Knox.

Richard Hooker was socially conservative and demanded from the rich a sense of obligation towards the poor. The social preaching

(91) David A. MacLennan, A PREACHER'S PRIMER, pp.43-44.

(92) R. H. Tawney, Op. Cit., P.126-127. Quoted partly from THE BUKE OF DISCIPLINE, in WORKS OF JOHN KNOX, D. Laing, ed., Vol.II, P.227.

of Hooker in England ought to be noted briefly. Hooker thought it proper for the State to profit by

"eminent civil ability in ecclesiastical persons."

But the more the emphasis was laid upon the Christian duties of prince and parliament, the more thoroughly could the clergy devote themselves to their own work, the pastoral care of their flocks and the ministry of the Word and Sacraments. For it was predominantly by preaching, writing and informal counselling that the 'official' Church intervened. Sermons were preached in Tudor England before the King's Majesty. The public sermons at Paul's Cross, the sermons to the nobility and the judges were made more influential by the printing-press. Sermons and published treatises seemed to be the proper methods of Christian persuasion.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, ministers would promote sermon campaigns against certain 'sins of society.' One crucial issue was that the money-lender who made advances and who thereby exploited the necessities of his poorer neighbors. Ministers strongly denounced them from the pulpit in the name of the New Testament. There is no doubt about the social, political and economic implications of the preaching at Geneva. It did not question the right of the clergy to be heard on matters of commerce and finance. The pulpit was the press and platform in one; ministers had the public behind them, and, conscious of their power, would in the last resort compel submission by threatening to resign. In 1574 Beza preached a sermon in which he accused members of the Council of having intelligence with speculators who had made a corner in wheat. Throughout 1577

the ministers were reproaching the Council with laxity in administration, and they finally denounced it as the real author of the rise in the prices of bread and wine. In 1579 they suggested a new scheme of moral discipline and social reform. Once when there had been launched a campaign of sermons against avarice, the Council retorted by accusing Beza of stirring up class hatred against the rich.

R. H. Tawney has written this excellent summary of social preaching and writing during the Reformation times:

Melanchthon expounded godly doctrine on the subject of money-lending and prices. Calvin wrote a famous letter on usury and delivered sermons on the same subject. Bucer sketched a scheme of social reconstruction for a Christian prince. Bullinger produced a classical exposition of social ethics in DECADES which he dedicated to Edward VI. Luther preached and pamphleteered against extortioners, and said that it was time "to put a bit in the mouth of the holy company of the Fuggers." Zwingli and Oecolampadius devised plans for the reorganization of poor relief. . . . Whatever the social practice of the sixteenth century may have been, it did not suffer for lack of social teaching on the part of men of religion. If the world could have been saved by sermons and pamphlets, it would have been a Paradise.(93)

(93) Ibid., pp.81-82. quoted from Ehrenberg Vol.I, P.117.

4. Early Post-Reformation Times

Concerning post-Reformation times in England, the men who had invested in the Reformation naturally nursed the security, and denounced the revolting peasants as communists, with the mystical reverence for the rights of property. The men whose religion was not money said what they thought of the business in pamphlets and sermons, which left respectable congregations spluttering with fury. Thus, sermon was preached upon sermon, with the assumption that the traditional social teaching of the Church was as binding on men's consciences after the Reformation as it was before it.

Anglican social theory was more conservative than Calvin's. Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, Arch-Bishops Crindal and Sandys, and the clergy generally, continued to condemn usury, which was prohibited (except from 1545 to 1552) by statute law until 1571, when interest up to ten per cent became lawful. From about that date the officially encouraged popularity of Bullinger's sermons (English Translation, 1577) may have weakened the uncompromising objection to interest. He wrote,

"Usury is forbidden in the Word of God so far forth as it biteth his neighbour." (94)

But ecclesiastical courts still occasionally took action against moneylenders and Anglican moralists long advised against taking interest. Similarly they clung to the just price doctrine and to

(94) S. L. Greenslade, Op. Cit., P.94.

State price-fixing. But English theologians of the mid-sixteenth century found agrarian problems more urgent and more perplexing than commercial ones.

Laud, in the Church of England, once preached:

"If any man be so addicted to his private, that he neglect the common state, he is void of the sense of piety, and wisheth peace and happiness to himself in vain. For, whoever he be, he must live in the body of the Commonwealth and in the body of the Church."(95)

Laud once answered attacks regarding a bill about bishops' powers in civil affairs and courts of judicature in a direct way.

Laud observed, in answer to the attack of Lord Sayre and Sele,

"A bishop may preach the Gospel more publicly and to far greater edification in a court of judicature, or at a Council-table, where great men are met together to draw things to an issue, than many preachers in their several charges can."(96)

The Church, which had abandoned the pretension itself to control society, found some compensation in the reflection that its doctrines were not wholly without influence in impressing the principles which were applied by the State.

Laud believed that it was the responsibility of the bishop to keep the king and magistrate on the right paths. Laud could be wise and foolish, generous and petty. He had a lofty sense of the priority of public good over private interest; his outspoken attacks upon wealthy and powerful men earned him many enemies; and there is a case, at least, for many of the social measures which he sponsored.

(95) R. H. Tawney, Op. Cit., P.133. Quoted from Laud, SERMONS BEFORE HIS MAJESTY, June 19, 1621.

(96) S. L. Greenslade, Op. Cit., pp.85-86. Quoted partly from H. R. Trevor-Roper, Archbishop Laud (Macmillan, 1940), P.169.

In the words of a biographer quite unsympathetic to Laud's religion,

"The partnership of the Church and the poor in opposition to acquisitive landlords was continually being demonstrated, and Laud, in defending one, was defending the other."(97)

Perhaps if Parliament had been sitting from 1629 to 1640, his energies would have been more wisely directed. As it was, he was acting through the unpopular prerogative courts. He fell back after all on the

"penalties which can never do it,"

his intolerance in Church affairs blinded good men to his constructive social policy, and he was broken by the rising individualism of his age.

Commissions were set up under Laud's direction to deal with enclosures and also to fix fair wages for some of the workers. The Privy Council was concerned with poor relief and price controls, and wealthy offenders were subject to heavy fines. Although Laud failed to see the whole picture, he did persistently try to do something about society.

Lancelot Andrewes, the famous Bishop of Winchester, was widely known for his preaching constantly against the sin of usury. He was not alone in doing so, and in 1631 the Reverend Peter Simon preached the equality of all mankind in the Forest of Dean. Some of the legislation was beneficial, and still more of its objects were good, though unsuitable for legislation. But the dragooning was too much for the Englishman's taste for liberty. Laud and the Puritans between

(97) Ibid., pp.174-175. Quoted from THE WORKS OF WILLIAM LAUD, ed. Wm. Scott, Vol.VI, 1857, pt.i. P.191.

them created such a dislike of ecclesiastical or governmental interference that the Church of the eighteenth century could do little but preach.

Some of the social response in England is adequately told in Tawney's classic, RELIGION AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM.

The social character of wealth, which had been the essence of medieval doctrine, was asserted by English divines in the sixteenth century with redoubled emphasis, precisely because the growing individualism of the age menaced the traditional conception. "The poor man," preached Latimer, "hath title to the rich man's goods; so that the rich man ought to let the poor man have part of his riches to help and to comfort him withal". . . The Elizabethan Poor Law was never designed to be what, with disastrous results, it became in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the sole measure for coping with economic distress. While it provided relief, it was but the last link in a chain of measures - the prevention of evictions, the control of food supplies and prices, the attempt to stabilize employment and to check unnecessary dismissals of workmen - intended to mitigate the forces which made relief necessary. Apart from the Poor Law, the first forty years of the seventeenth century were prolific in the private charity which founded alms-houses and hospitals, and established funds to provide employment or to aid struggling tradesmen. The appeal was still to religion which owed to poverty a kind of reverence.(98)

The social doctrines advanced from the pulpits offered, in their traditional form, little guidance. Their practical ineffectiveness prepared the way for their theoretical abandonment. They were abandoned because, on the whole, they deserved to be abandoned. The social teaching of the Church had ceased to count, because the Church itself had ceased to think. The social theory of the Church of England turned its face from the practical world, to pour over

(98) R. H. Tawney, Op. Cit., pp.262-263.

doctrines which, had their original authors been as impervious to realities as their later exponents, would never have been formulated.

Then in the middle of the seventeenth century there was a resurgence of social criticism, under the leadership of Laud. The works of Sanderson and of Jeremy Taylor, continuing an earlier tradition, reasserted with force and eloquence the view that the Christian is bound by his faith to a rule of life which finds expression in equity, in bargaining and in works of mercy to his neighbors.

R. H. Tawney concludes his monumental volume, RELIGION AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM, in a way that is highly pertinent to the historical perspective of social preaching.

The language in which theologians and preachers expressed their horror of the sin of covetousness may appear to the modern reader too murkily sulphurous; their precepts on the contracts of business and the disposition of property may seem an impracticable pedantry. But rashness is a more agreeable failing than cowardice, and, when to speak is unpopular, it is less pardonable to be silent than to say too much. Posterity has, perhaps, as much to learn from the whirlwind eloquence with which Latimer scourged injustice and oppression, as from the sober respectability of the judicious Paley - who himself, since there are depths below depths, was regarded as a dangerous revolutionary by George III.(99)

In his chapter on "The Puritan Movement" Tawney mentions such men as Bunyan and Fox; then he describes Richard Baxter as being

"the most learned, the most practical, and the most persuasive."(100)

- (99) Ibid., P.287.
 (100) Ibid., P.220.

How Baxter endeavored to give practical instruction to his congregation at Kidderminster, he himself has told us.

"Every Thursday evening my neighbours that were most desirous and had opportunity met at my house, and there one of them repeated the sermon, and afterwards they proposed what doubts any of them had about the sermon, or any other case of conscience, and I resolved their doubts." (101)

Baxter apparently preached on most of the social issues of his times, although he did so from a conservative social theory. When the Reverend David Jones was so indiscreet as to preach at St. Mary Woolnoth in Lombard Street a sermon against usury, on the text, "The Pharisees who were covetous heard all these things and they derided Christ," his career in London was brought to an abrupt conclusion. (102)

Jacques Benigne Bossuet (1627-1704) was one of the foremost social preachers of this time in France. Bossuet influenced preachers in later periods with his deep concern about social issues. He preached about the needs of the poor, responsibility towards the hungry, sharing and serving the people of poverty. He would refer to these as 'Christ's poor,' and preached that unless the rich share with the poor, there is no possibility of salvation for the rich.

His greatest social sermon is entitled, "On the Eminent Dignity of the Poor in the Church," (103) using as his texts,

"The last shall be first, and the first last" (Matthew 20: 16),
and

"He shall spare the poor and needy, and save the souls of the poor" (Psalm 72: 13).

(101) Loc. Cit. quoted partly from F. J. Powicke,
A LIFE OF THE REVEREND RICHARD BAXTER, P.92.

(102) Ibid., pp.246-247.

(103) Fant & Pinson, Op. Cit., 2:287-294.

Also in RICH AND POOR IN THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION, trans.
Walter Shewring (London: Burns & Oates Ltd., 1948), pp.179-92.
Preached on behalf of a house of the poor.

What will become of the poor in whom he suffers and all whose needs he feels? He might send them his holy angels; but it is more equitable that they should be helped by their fellow-men. Come then, you rich, enter his Church; her door is opened for you at last, but opened in favour of the poor, and on condition you serve them. It is for the children's sake that strangers may come in. See then the miracle of poverty! Yes, the rich were aliens, but they are naturalised by service of the poor and helped to wash away the defilement taken from their riches. Therefore, you rich of this world, in the Church of Christ you are only the servants of the poor. . . .

But what service are we to pay them? In what are we bound to help them? You have already the example of Abraham. But the glorious St. Augustine will give you more particular counsel. The service you owe the needy is to join in bearing some part of the burden that oppresses them." St. Paul commands the faithful to "bear one another's burdens". . . .

Why should one favoured man live in such abundance, able to gratify the idlest desires of a studied fastidiousness, while this other in distress - as much a man as he - cannot keep his poor family or relieve the hunger which besets him? . . .

God's means, Christian men, was the founding of his Church, where the rich may indeed enter, but on condition they serve the poor. . . . Understand this, my brothers: unless you carry the burden of the poor, you will be overwhelmed by your own, and the weight of your ill-dispensed riches will pull you down to perdition. Share with the poor the burden of poverty; take your portion of their distress, and you will earn thereby a share in their privileges. Unless they so share in the privileges of the poor, there is no salvation for the rich.(104)

Louis Bourdaloue (1632-1704), who was also of France, was another outstanding social preacher. He strongly warned the rich of the burden of riches. He was cautious in his sermons to the monarchy, nevertheless, his condemnation of the faults of the nobility rings through his sermons.

(104) Ibid., 2:292-293.

He was deeply concerned with the problems of wealth in the midst of poverty.

We presume upon our Social Distinction; so that finding ourselves highly placed among the well-born and the well-to-do whom the world looks up to with abject awe, we expect that God will feel equally impressed and overcome. . . .
I was mistaken therefore, when I said that God would take no account of your Social Rank and Quality.

Yes, My Dear Hearers! you shall appear once more, and that before His Judgment Seat, just as you are here, decked with all the gold and tinsel you are wearing now. But that is just what will kindle God's anger against you and bring his most scathing anathemas about your head!(105)

Jean Baptiste Massillon (1663-1742) was the greatest of the French social preachers of this era. Massillon preached with a social passion that seems unequaled. He described the plight of the poor, the neglect of the rich, the need to heed the cries of the poor. He strongly rebukes the rich. Massillon foreshadows Gladden and Rauschenbusch in their social vision. He preached that impending disaster would fall on the rich if they did not heed the cries of the poor.(106) His rebuke was sharp,

"Let compassion sustain your houses, if you wish that your posterity be not buried under their ruins."(107)

The following is a remarkable passage, written centuries before the graduated income tax.(108)

(105) Ibid., 2:358-359. From the sermon entitled, "The Judgment: Its Inflexible Impartiality." Also in ADVENT AND CHRISTMAS, tr. and ed. Charles Hyde Brooke, Great French Preachers, Vol.2 (London: Grant Richards: 1904), pp.101-118.

(106) Ibid., 2:389.

(107) Ibid., 2:390.

(108) Ibid., 2:391.

If each of you were, according to the advice of the apostle, to appropriate a certain portion of your wealth towards the subsistence of the poor; if, in the computation of your expenses and of your revenues, this item were to be always regarded as the most sacred and the most inviolable one, then we should quickly see the number of the afflicted to diminish: we should soon see renewed in the church that peace, that happiness, and that cheerful equality which reigned among the first Christians; we should no longer behold with sorrow that monstrous disproportion, which, elevating the one, places him on the pinnacle of prosperity and opulence, while the other crawls on the ground, and groans in the gulf of poverty and application.

No longer should there be any unhappy except the impious among us; no secret miseries except those which sin operates in the soul; no tears except those of penitence: no sighs but for heaven; no poor, but those blessed disciples of the gospel, who renounce all to follow their master.

Our cities would be the abode of innocence and compassion; religion, a commerce of charity; the earth the image of heaven, where, in different degrees of glory, each is equally happy; and the enemies of faith would again, as formerly, be forced to render glory to God, and to confess that there is something of divine in a religion which is capable of uniting men together in a manner so new.(109)

The finest of Massillon's social sermons is entitled simply, "On Charity,"⁽¹¹⁰⁾ using the text, "And Jesus took the loaves, and, when he had given thanks, he distributed to the disciples, and the disciples to them that were set down." (John 6: 11). This deals with avarice, extreme wealth, hunger, economic depression and poverty.

Besides, when you pretend to excuse the scantiness of your charities, by saying that the number of the poor is endless; what do you believe to say? You say that your obligations, with respect to them, are become only more indispensable; that your compassion ought to increase in proportion as their wants increase;

(109) Ibid., 2:391.

(110) Ibid., 2:410-430.

and that you contract new debts whenever any increase of the unfortunate takes place on the earth. It is then, my brethren, it is during these public calamities that you ought to retrench even from expenses which at any other period might be permitted, and which might even be proper; it is then that you ought to consider yourselves but as the principal poor, and to take as a charity whatever you take for yourselves; it is then that you are no longer either grandee, man in office, distinguished citizen, or woman of illustrious birth; you are simply believer, member of Jesus Christ, brother of every afflicted Christian.(111)

Some of the social concern of John Bunyan is evident.

Bunyan knew that no joy could come, save through tears; he came to the poor and he never deserted them. Indeed when hope faded from them and many swore that God himself had deserted their side, reproving, rebuking, exhorting as a broadsheet of 1690 described him:

"an Excellent Eminent and Famous Gospel Minister."(112)

The progress of enclosing was a burning issue for a century and half, flaring up, from time to time, into agitation. During most of this time the attitude of religious leaders was one of condemnation. Sermon after sermon and pamphlet after pamphlet - not to mention Statutes and Royal Commissions - had been launched against depopulation.

The social character of wealth was asserted by clergymen in the sixteenth century with strong emphasis, perhaps because of the growing individualism of the times. Latimer preached,

"The poor man hath title to the rich man's goods; so that the rich man ought to let the poor man have part of his riches to help and to comfort him withal."(113)

(111) Ibid., 2:421.

(112) Stanley G. Evans, Op. Cit., P.140.

(113) R. H. Tawney, Op. Cit., P.262. Quoted partly from Latimer, "The Fifth Sermon on the Lord's Prayer," in SERMONS, Everyman ed., P.336.

There was the seventeenth century French homiletician, Jean Claude, but the prophetic element in preaching is now more ethical and the concept of the sermon has changed. Preaching had a weak prophetic note at this time, as is seen in the sermons of Jacques Saurin (1677-1730).

T. F. Torrance notes that:

At the Reformation preaching was concerned with presenting Christ and His graces and focusing the attention of the people upon Him, while in the application of the Gospel the people were directed toward their neighbours in Christian love and charity. In the post-westminster period, however, there was a change. Preaching is much more concerned with experience of Christ, with the application of His benefits, with attaining an interest in Him, while in the application the people were exhorted to be concerned with working out their own sanctification. There is a marked turning of the attention inward upon the self.(114)

During the seventeenth century, the emphasis in social teaching was shifted to moral virtues - individual kindness, thrift, temperance and honesty. Church discipline and control over social, political and economic areas weakened with the commercial spirit and the individualism of the times. The Church accommodated herself to the times, and found it increasingly difficult to offer any relevant guidance to the developing structures of society.

(114) T. F. Torrance, ed., THE SCHOOL OF FAITH, P.xiviii.

F. BRITAIN OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

1. The Eighteenth Century

In the eighteenth century, it is almost superfluous to look for the teaching of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland as to social concerns. It brings no distinctive contribution, and, except by a few clergymen, the very conception of the Church as an independent moral authority, whose standards may be in sharp antithesis to social conventions, has been abandoned. The eighteenth century thought of religious teaching largely in terms of moral advice given in sermons. The main duty of the clergy, says Paley, is

"to inform the consciences and improve the morals of the people committed to their charge until the Lord returns in judgment."(115)

The one supreme example of eighteenth century preaching with strong social implications was the ministry of John Wesley (1703-1791). Brilioth contrasts Wesley's preaching with the characteristic essay sermon of that time.

"The prophetic quality of the early Methodist preaching is beyond dispute. By proclaiming the gospel of salvation it became a social and political factor of the first order - not by speaking to the society at large, or those in power, but by concerning itself solely with the individual."(116)

Although John Wesley was primarily an evangelist, there were unmistakable social implications in his preaching. God has acted to redeem all men; Christians are called upon to love all men and to seek their welfare.

(115) THE MINISTRY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES, Op. Cit., P.157.
quoted from Sermon, "A distinction of Orders," WORKS,
IV (Newport, 1811), P.44.

(116) Yngve Brilioth, Op. Cit., P.33.

A poor wretch cries to me for an alms: I look, and see him covered with dirt and rags. But through these I see one that has an immortal spirit, made to know, and love, and dwell with God to eternity. I honour him for his Creator's sake. . . I love him for the sake of his Redeemer. The courtesy, therefore, which I feel and show toward him is a mixture of the honour and love which I bear to the offspring of God; the purchase of his Son's blood, and the candidate for immortality. This courtesy let us feel and show toward all men; and we shall please all men to their edification.(117)

Wesley preached that faith must be expressed in love. Thirteen of his fifty-three standard sermons expound with penetrating insight the Sermon on the Mount. Salvation relates to life here and now, and to the whole life of man. When there was a tax imposed on silver plate and Wesley received a letter asking for a declaration of his silver, he replied,

"I have two silver teaspoons at London, and two at Bristol. This is all the plate I have at present; and I shall not buy any more while so many round me want bread."(118)

Wesley believed religion was social - not solitary, but he never carried out fully the social implications of his theology. Wesley had no idea of seeking to redeem society through legislation.(119) He remained a conservative Tory, and for the most part, did not challenge the economic and social institutions of his times. His social views were very largely derived from ethical principles related to the individual. Yet this primary concern did not prevent him from dealing critically on many occasions with the social evils of his time. He castigated unfair business practices - inflated

(117) S. Paul Schilling, METHODISM AND SOCIETY IN THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE, P.59. quoted from WORKS, VII, pp.145-146.

(118) Ibid., pp.60-61. quoted from THE POETICAL WORKS OF JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY, ed. G. Osborne, I, xxii.

(119) See Ibid., P.61. Also CHRISTIAN ETHICS - SOURCES OF THE LIVING TRADITION, edited by Waldo Beach and H. Richard Niebuhr, P. 36.

charges for goods or services, exorbitant interest, ruthless competition (as in his sermon, "The Use of Money"); attacked the manufacture and use of alcoholic beverages, pointed out the iniquity and folly of war, and in his last letter applauded William Wilberforce in his battle against 'that execrable villainy,' slavery. He wrote,

"Go on, in the name of God and in the power of His Might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it."(120)

Wesley also engaged in a wide variety of actions which relieved suffering or helped to improve the daily lot and conditions of men. He visited English prisons many times, preached to their inmates and commented on the misery of prison conditions. He set up a loan society among his Methodists to help keep his poor followers from the clutches of the pawnbrokers and out of debtor's prisons. He fought hard liquor as much for economic as for moral reasons. He edited a CHRISTIAN LIBRARY, fifty volumes of extracts from Christian literature, for popular use. He established a free medical dispensary and wrote a book of simple home remedies for sickness, called PRIMITIVE PHYSIC, which ran to twenty-three editions. He established a home for widows and a school for poor children. Wesley's "Thoughts upon Slavery" was written in 1774; he preached on it in 1788 in the city of Bristol, central stronghold of slave-traders.

John Wesley preached that every man was called to be a child of God - a new position of self respect and dignity, one of the most helpful kinds of preaching needed for the barren, poverty-stricken life of the eighteenth century England.

(120) Ibid., P.61-62. Quoted partly from Letters, VIII, P.265.

Halford E. Luccock has written of this period:

The new confidence as a result of religious experience was the "flower in the crannied walls." If you can see all there is in that, the sense of the human and divine resources for human life, you can understand the gathering struggle of the nineteenth century for human rights against injustice and exploitation. When that religious experience, that realized sonship to God, that enhanced personality, that conviction that all men are on an equality before God, is let loose in the lives of men, we can say with Mark Antony, "Mischief, thou art afoot. Take what course thou wilt." (121)

Wesley's sermons dealt with a wide range of practical ethical issues, such as riches, business, temperance, dress, health, education, vocation, leisure and reading. John Wesley did believe that the Gospel had a social element. This conviction he not only taught, but lived. His saying,

"The Gospel of Christ knows no religion but social, no holiness but social holiness,"

meant considerably less than the social gospel adopted by some of his twentieth-century followers; but the subsequent developments have been in the legitimate line. Wesley's declared purpose was to reform the nation and to spread scriptural holiness over the land. Admittedly his primary objective was to preach the gospel of repentance and salvation to individuals. But his precept and example alike gave convincing demonstration that he was interested not only in the heavenly Kingdom for which he would prepare men's souls, but also in the society in which their minds and bodies lived on earth. His legacy of social thought and activity to his followers was a variegated one. On one hand, he was a staunch Tory supporter of the

(121) S. Paul Schilling, Op. Cit., pp.63-64. Quoted from Frank M. Liggett, ed., THE BOOK OF THE SESQUI-CENTENNIAL OF AMERICAN METHODISM, P.105.

stiff political and social stratifications of English society of his day; on the other hand, he manifested a passionate interest in the plight of the poor. He not only urged and practiced the traditional methods of relieving their necessities, but he also devised institutional experiments of social import. His preaching required men not only to repent and believe the gospel, but also to work hard and save money. He gave the poor courage to believe in themselves, made them exemplars of industry and frugality and raised them in the economic scale.

The indirect social influence of John Wesley was also certainly outstanding. Men influenced by Wesley carried much farther than he the social implications of his religious message. The nineteenth century witnessed a powerful thrust toward legislative reform and institutional change. Historians and social scientists have noted strong influences from the evangelical revival in the antislavery movement led by Wilberforce, social and economic reforms like those provided in the Factory Acts, the Ten Hours Act, the Mines and Collieries Act, and the industrial extension acts; the temperance movement; the formation of the YMCA and the Salvation Army; the organization of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children and animals; and kindred developments. Marquis W. Childs and Douglass Cater conclude that

"out of the light kindled by Wesley and the evangelical revival came the great drive for reform movements that has had a direct and continuing relationship to the life of the past one hundred years."

With this judgment Kenneth E. Boulding concurs, asserting unequivocally:

"It was not the economists who liberated the slaves or who passed the Factory Acts, but the rash and ignorant Christians."(122)

Although the work of reform was to be more during the nineteenth century, some foundations were built during the eighteenth century. Poor relief was left up to the individual justices and parishes. Some used sermons for making protests; Secker, who later became Archbishop of Canterbury, strongly attacked gin-drinking. Benevolence was a keynote of this time; the moral sermons of Tillotson and the many preachers who took him for a model emphasised stewardship. Many hospitals were built during the middle 1700's. George Whitefield (1714-1770) rarely preached on ethical themes. Only a few of his sermons were definitely of a social character - "The Great Duty of Charity Recommended," "The Heinous Sin of Profane Cursing and Swearing," and "The Heinous Sin of Drunkenness." Whitefield also built and maintained an orphanage. Jonas Hanway was busy with apprentices, workhouses and temperance; General Oglethorpe and John Howard with prisons. But these voluntary institutions were not direct Church foundations. One group, indeed, met with ecclesiastical opposition to a foundling hospital. But, on the whole, they were the direct result of Christian tradition, maintained by Christian preaching. (123) The revival movements led many to be more unselfish and to relieve the misery of the poor. The Methodist

(122) S. Paul Schilling, Op. Cit. P.64. See also ETHICS IN A BUSINESS SOCIETY, P.61; and RELIGIOUS PERSPECTIVES OF COLLEGE TEACHING IN ECONOMICS, P.18.

(123) See also S. L. Greenslade, Op. Cit., P.101.

movement did for eighteenth-century England what Christianity did for the ancient world, giving to men of conscience and compassion a cause for which to live, and blending the idea of the brotherhood of man with the mysteries of the Christian Faith. It was quite evident, however, that many were substituting yet more charity for true social reform. Reform was to be the work of the nineteenth century. The specific work of the Hanoverian epoch was the establishment of the rule of law; and that law, with all its faults, was at least a law of freedom. On that foundation all the subsequent reforms were built. If the eighteenth century had not established the law of freedom, the nineteenth century in England would have proceeded by revolutionary violence, instead of by Parliamentary modification of the law.⁽¹²⁴⁾ The Reformation doctrine of vocation had given a new dignity to common labor, and the spirit of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had made for a more positive acceptance of cultural, political and economic achievements for their own sake, thus also greater concern for happiness in this life. At the same time, in the face of a new economic situation, the more activist form of the doctrine of vocation had been transmuted into a glorification of economic enterprise and a merging of Christian ideals for civilization with the prevailing patterns of the economic and political order. With the sanction of religion thus placed upon the existing order, even the programs for reform were palliative, and apart from these the effective role of religion was limited mostly to the privacy of a man's relation to God and to

(124) G. M. Trevelyan, Op. Cit., P.351.

concern for the 'spiritual' rather than the 'secular' life. It was this kind of uncritical acceptance of the social order as a whole and particularly the economic order which was to call forth most vigorous criticism in the social preaching of the nineteenth century.

2. Nineteenth Century England

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the poor were frequently enjoined to be contented with their lot, and the doctrine of the blessedness of giving was used to inflate the ego of many of the wealthy. The scope of charity shrank from the exercise of agape to the giving of broth and blankets, accompanied by a little religious exhortation. As the cost of relief rose, and the fear of riot and revolution grew through the days of the French Revolution and after, economic theorists and politicians alike became convinced that the main problem was that of the thriftless able-bodied poor - people who were poor not because they could not work, but because they would not. The profitable employment of the poor ignored the helpless or impotent poor - the old, the sick and the children were largely overlooked. During those days, to be a pauper meant not only material deprivation, but also a definite moral stigma.

Victorian England offered considerable financial and social rewards to those with the energy, initiative, luck and staying-power to better themselves; but in this newly competitive society, the weak were terribly vulnerable. The factory system created industrial rejects - people who might have managed well enough in the days of subsistence agriculture, but who were not physically or mentally fitted for the struggle. The problems of poverty - even in the restricted sense of the term - were imperfectly understood until the end of the century. Philanthropy and reforms were conceived largely within the existing social structures. Social reform was more the stewardship of individuals.

The nineteenth century was, however, the time of great social movements. There was the Christian Socialism movement, the social settlement movement as seen in the erection of Toynbee Hall, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. movement, the Salvation Army and kindred movements, the housing movement with George Cadbury, and the social teaching movement with such names as Immanuel Kant, Saint-Simon, Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, Richard Rothe, Albrecht Ritschl, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, and many others.

Individuals responded to social problems in many different ways. Christians undertook a very wide range of philanthropic activities, and their belief in the ultimate value and dignity of each human being often brought them into conflict with the Malthusian view of the inevitability of poverty and misery. Developments in education, hospital care, and housing, in ragged schools and orphanages and dispensaries, parliamentary campaigns for the abolition of slavery in the colonies, near-slave conditions in the colonies, and near-slave conditions in the mines and factories - all testify to the depth of that concern. By the 1850's, many slum parishes had their own organizations for the care of the sick and the poor, in which clergy and laity alike found a vocation to social service; but the volume of distress grew constantly; and the causes were too deeply rooted in the fabric of society for much of this work to be more than palliative. The Charity Organization Society, founded in 1869 in London, was an attempt to co-ordinate the work of the many charitable bodies that had grown up and to relate them to the statutory services. Individual clergymen had a part in factory regulations and sanitary reform, the development of education and the cheaper press,

and even the struggle for trade unionism and the franchise.

Edward Rochie Hardy has described some of the nineteenth century ministry of the Church of England:

Samuel Wilberforce was an energetically pastoral diocesan. Self-sacrificing priests faced the pastoral and social problems of England's teeming cities. Hook at Leeds is one of the earliest - soon comes Pusey's foundation of St. Saviour's in the same city, and the great London slum parishes such as St. Barnabas, Pimlico, St. Peter's, London Docks; and St. Alban's, Holborn. Butler from his parish at Wantage, Neale from his almshouse at East Grinstead, confronted the equally urgent problems of country towns. As in the last two cases, the founding of Sisterhoods was often connected with this mission to the poorest. Two heroic figures of the end of the century are A. H. Stanton, pastor and preacher to London for fifty years, who spent his whole ministry as Assistant Curate at St. Alban's, 1862-1914, and the unconventional Father Dolling, whose ten great years were spent redeeming the almost barbarized area that surrounded St. Agatha's, Landport, in Portsmouth. (125)

The Church did not throw itself into the reform movement of the nineteenth century; partly due to the French Revolution setting back social progress in England, the tie between social and parliamentary reform, and the sheer ignorance of industrial conditions. Publications of reports on epidemics, health and sanitary conditions came just before the mid-1800's.

So charitable patchwork was preferred to reform. In this the clergy showed initiative as well as energy. Bishop Barrington of Durham opened the first Co-operative Distributive Society at Mongewell in 1794. The Rev. J. Smith founded the first Savings Bank at Wendover; the Rev. Henry Duncan established the first self-sustaining People's Bank in 1810 at Rothwell, a model which eventually led to the Post Office Savings Bank. In 1773 the Rev. James Cowe of Sunbury formed the first philanthropic Friendly Society. The story is continued by the activities of Wilberforce and the Clapham sect and by Shaftesbury's Ragged Schools.

(125) THE MINISTRY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES, Op. Cit., pp.172-173.

Of the 640 London charities in 1862, with an income of some two and a half millions, 279 had been founded between 1800 and 1850. Overlooking the reasons why "the Churches and sects did not as one man demand social reform from the Government, Marjorie Bowen argues that these well-meaning people must have been actuated by love of humanity, not by any religion!(126)

Perhaps the two most outstanding achievements of the Church during the nineteenth century were in elementary education and the abolition of the slave trade, Although denominational disputes held up progress at times. The abolition of slave trade in the British Empire was almost entirely a Christian achievement.

Although the first several decades of the century found the working classes bitterly opposed to the established Church, relations between them improved rapidly during the mid-century. Anglican clergy had begun to work for the industrial poor.

"The Vicars of Leeds, Bradford, Wakefield, Huddersfield, Dewsbury and of many smaller towns, acted as Chairman regularly at the meetings for the Ten Hours Bill; another Lancashire Vicar, Canon Wray, took the same part at Manchester; the Vicar of Leigh prepared a petition at his own expense. The Church paper, the GUARDIAN, gave strong support to the Bill." A Burnley newspaper was provoked into complaining of the leading part taken by the Church in the "agitation." And many working men must have known that the immense labours of Shaftesbury on their behalf were inspired by his religion. Meanwhile the Nonconformist ministers befriended the poor against the landowners, and the democratic government of the Free Churches was training the labour leaders of the future.(127)

Some bridges had thus been built across the chasm between the Church and the working-classes.

(126) S. L. Greenslade, Op. Cit., P.107. Quoted partly from EARLY VICTORIAN ENGLAND (Oxford), 1934, II, P.70.

(127) Ibid., P.115. Quoted partly from J. L. and B. Hammond, THE AGE OF THE CHARTISTS, P.288.

But the many varieties of opinion and practice in religious and ecclesiastical affairs, the controversies of every kind and range - sectarian, critical, scientific, apologetic, social, political - all bearing upon the attitude of the pulpit upon vital current issues, caused a bewildering variety of pulpit expression.(128)

The Oxford Movement was from about 1833 to 1845 and was concerned with the theological bases of the Catholic Revival. But the Tractarians were certainly interested in preaching the Gospel of new life to the poor as well as to the academic and clerical world - as shown by the title of the series of PLAIN AND PAROCHIAL SERMONS BY THE AUTHORS OF TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.(129)

When Hugh James Rose, the Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge, delivered that memorable course on THE COMMISSION AND CONSEQUENT DUTIES OF THE CLERGY (1826), it is significant that he opened his argument with a quotation from a sermon preached by Tillotson before the House of Commons on 5th November, 1678:

"For God's sake, what is Religion good for, but to reform the Manners and Dispositions of Men, to restrain human Nature from Violence and Cruelty, from Falsehood and Treachery, from Sedition and Rebellion?(130)

The place of sermons in the Oxford Movement is interesting. In a sermon preached in 1829 called "the World Our Enemy" Newman wrote:

"To be high station is the gift of God; but the pride and injustice to which it has given scope is from the Devil. To be poor and obscure is also the ordinance of God; but the dishonesty and discontent which are often seen in the poor is from Satan."(131)

- (128) Edwin Charles Dargan, Op. Cit., Vol.II, pp.508-509.
- (129) THE MINISTRY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES, Op. Cit., pp.153-154.
- (130) Charles Smyth, Op. Cit., P.168. Quoted partly from Tillotson, FIFTY FOUR SERMONS, P.180.
- (131) Stanley G. Evans, Op. Cit., pp.147-148. Quoted partly from J. H. Newman, SERMONS AND DISCOURSES (1825-39), New York, 1949, pp.44-53.

He accepted that riches could produce injustice but to be contented with the injustice - this was sin.

Pusey preached on the danger of riches at St. James', Bristol, in 1850, although he did not state any direct political or social conclusions. Another pulpit incident is of interest.

It will be remembered that on this occasion following a description of Turkish atrocities in subject Bulgaria which was published on June 3rd, 1876, a great outcry swept England and when the Prime Minister, Mr. Disraeli, attempted to whitewash the Turks, he was denounced in the pulpit of St. Paul's by Canon Liddon - and then Liddon, (132) accompanied by the Rev. Malcolm McColl, went off to make an investigation on the spot. (133)

The chief contribution of the Oxford Movement to social thinking in the Church of England was to produce in its second generation a number of outstanding priests who were content to spend their lives working in the slums.

Walter James recently wrote an excellent, brief description of the three main periods of social response in the Church of England.

We reach the nineteenth century then with British politics still divided partly on religious lines, but with Anglicans and Non-conformists agreed that churches had neither right nor capacity to interfere in political matters. A change of view on this point came first in the Church of England, but it affected only a few, and only by the twentieth century with Gore and Temple did politically concerned Christians appear to gain much of a hearing from their fellows. There are three periods of active interest. F. D. Maurice, J. M. F. Ludlow and Charles Kingsley were founders of a Christian social movement in the years 1846-54. The next

(132) Henry Liddon (1829-1890) was a conformist in social areas, but he did preach justice, better government and social principles. His social preaching was, however, usually highly indirect. See H. P. Liddon, FORTY-TWO SERMONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS, pp.97-104.

(133) Ibid., P.149-150.

wave of activity came under men like Samuel Barrett, Arnold Toynbee, Stewart Headlam and Scott Holland from 1873 to 1890 and the third and final period of thought and protest came after the First World War, with Archbishop Temple as its leader. What caused these outbursts of Christian interest in politics? In each case it was undoubtedly the condition of the poorer people. Interest rose and fell according to the prosperity of the nation. Maurice and Kingsley spoke out during a period of bad trade when public inquiries were for the first time revealing the wretchedness to which the Industrial Revolution had reduced many of the working class. As prosperity returned and the condition of the people improved, the Christian protest died away. It was the same in 1875-89, which were years of trade slump relieved only by a short burst of greater activity in 1881, and of course, the strikes and unemployed of the nineteen twenties and thirties are still imprinted deeply on British memory.(134)

During the nineteenth century, vigorous social criticism came from two quite different directions, one outside the Church, the other within. Marxist socialism, expressed in the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO (1848) and Marx's DAS KAPITAL (1867) marked the most trenchant external attack on the church's social position. Religion was seen to be an instrument for keeping the dominant capitalist class in power to exploit the workers. Religion anaesthetizes the sensitivity of the oppressed people by holding out before them the rewards of heaven. Unfortunately, there was much truth in this charge for perhaps no slave or servile class was ever more brutally exploited than the industrial proletariat during the Industrial Revolution in England in the latter eighteenth century, and in no age perhaps was the use of Christianity as an antidote to social unrest more blatant than during this period.(135)

(134) Walter James, THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS, pp.108-9.

(135) See Dillenberger & Welch, Op. Cit., P.240. Quoted partly from W. D. Morris, THE CHRISTIAN ORIGIN OF SOCIAL REVOLT, P.153.

. . . critics before Marx had insisted that "what the millions should generally know is this: that no rich man believes in religion of any sort except as a political engine to keep the useful classes in subject to the rich."(136)

Marxism, with its judgment upon the churches and its utter disregard of the Christian view of the worth of persons had a limited impact, however, until the twentieth century.

The philanthropists and reformers of the early nineteenth century did pave the way for more incisive criticism and more radical proposals for reform. The Christian Socialism movement in Britain began in 1848, the year in which the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO appeared. Led by Maurice, Kingsley and Ludlow, it was an effort to give a Christian method of social reform as an alternative to class struggle. They saw some of the weaknesses of the church's approach, and sought to improve working class conditions through

"religious regeneration, the formation of producers' co-operatives in which men might be their own employers, the encouragement of trade unions which would work peacefully for better conditions of their members, and the promotion of popular education."(137)

They greatly influenced the later developments in social concern in England toward a more just social order.

F. D. Maurice taught the working men that

"Law and Christianity are the only protectors of all classes from the selfishness which is the destruction of all."(138)

(136) Loc. Cit. Quoted partly from Bronterre O'Brien, in the POOR MAN'S GUARDIAN, Dec. 12, 1835.

(137) Ibid., P.242.

(138) Horton Davies, Op. Cit., P.297. Quoted from THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE CHIEFLY TOLD IN HIS OWN LETTERS, ed. Sir J. F. Maurice, Vol.II, pp.92 and 620-621.

There was an inevitable union based on the constitution of things,
between this

"Universal Community and the State of which the
principle is Personal Distinction and the symbol
Property."(139)

During the early part of 1848 Maurice preached a series of
sermons in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn which were later published
as THE PRAYER BOOK AND THE LORD'S PRAYER. Perhaps he was influenced
by the events in France and the socialism of the French working
class as he preached:

We pray for the extinction of all tyranny,
whether lodged in particular men or in multitudes,
for the exposure and destruction of corruption
inward and outward; for truth in all departments
of government, art, science; for the true dignity
of professions; for right dealings in the com-
monest transactions of trade; for blessings that
shall be felt in every hovel.(140)

The Eucharist was of special inspiration to that social order
which Maurice and the Christian Socialists were endeavouring to make
their contemporaries aware of in

" their double task of socializing Christianity
and Christianizing the socialists."(141)

Maurice moved from charity to a wider concept. The Kingdom of
Christ required a social order that recognized God's claim in politics
and economics, as well as in the Church, and that human brotherhood
in Christ demanded a more just social order. Thus it is that in him
theological, ecclesiological and sociological concerns unite, and
after him the Tractarians, who might otherwise have been lost in

(139) Ibid., pp.9-10.

(140) Stanley G. Evans, Op. Cit., P.151. Quoted from
F. D. Maurice, THE PRAYER BOOK AND THE LORD'S PRAYER.

(141) Ibid., P.311.

antiquarianism and ritualism, take up the responsibility for a more just Christian social order.

Maurice helped to meet the need for a theology of society. Kingsley worked boldly on sanitary reform, holding to a high ideal of the Christian community. But the social implications of the Christian faith were developed still further at a later time.

The real development not only of Christian Socialism but of Christian social thinking in England came later in the nineteenth century as the result of two influences. The first was the thought of a new group of theologians who owed much to Maurice, among whom Westcott and Hort were outstanding; the other was in the fusion of the practical expressions of the developed Oxford Movement with the intellectual inspiration of Maurice in such men as Marson and Headlam. B. F. Westcott (1825-1901), an outstanding Biblical scholar who became the Bishop of Durham, was deeply convinced that a Christianity which did not have a social expression was not a Christianity at all. Life, for Westcott was "individual in its responsibility and social in its aims." (142)

One of the most outstanding examples of social preaching during the nineteenth century in England was that of F. W. Robertson (1816-1853). Although he died at the early age of thirty-seven, he has been put into the first rank of English preachers. His power as a preacher derived particularly from several sources: first, his exact and extensive knowledge of the Bible; second, the deliberate reference of his preaching to modern conditions of thought and life, and the intensely personal note which runs through it; lastly, and principally, the passionate devotion to the Person of the Lord Jesus Christ which inspires all his words.

(142) Stanley G. Evans, Op. Cit., P.154.

There were few who dared to speak like an Amos on the political and economic issues of the day. Of the ninety-three printed in the first four series of sermons, two deal specifically with social justice, and six others are concerned with social issues. The two most important sermons in this group are, "The Message of the Church to Men of Wealth" and "Christ's Judgment Respecting Inheritance." The first deals with the laws of property in conflict with rights of labor, the embarrassing but central problem of the century. With great candor, Robertson declared it to be

"a social falsehood that wealth constitutes superiority, and has a right to the subordination of inferiors."

He affirmed that the Gospel can fortify the human spirit in the most difficult of social conditions, but he also confesses that

"there are some in the world to whom, speaking humanly, social injustice and social inequalities have made goodness impossible."

His second principle is an entirely practical one, for

"the largest charity is the best economy"

and

"concessions extracted by fear only provoke reaction further."

"Shame on us! We have not denounced the wrongs done to weakness. . . and woe to us in the great day of God if we have been the sycophants of the rich instead of the redressers of the poor man's wrongs." (143)

These were brave words for 1851!

In England, agitation for reform was rocking the country at this time. Cries for socialism shattered the once capitalistic unity of England. While Robertson was preaching, Karl Marx was

(143) Horton Davies, Op. Cit., pp.318-320. Partly quoted from Series I, Sermon XVII, pp.189-192, 194, 198.

working in the libraries of London writing the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO. Though he repudiated socialism, Robertson strongly aligned himself with the cause of the poor and the downtrodden. He was a creative and outspoken advocate of economic and political reform. In spite of severe criticism, he refused to abandon his friendly and sympathetic interest in the working classes. In many ways his cause was in common with that of Kingsley and Maurice. One sermon was preached on behalf of the Orphan Society, entitled "The Orphanage of Moses."⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

In another social sermon Robertson maintains that politics and religion must be mixed;

" . . . how without such a mixture can the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ?"⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

Robertson is also magnificently impartial in treating the acute social problem of wealth and poverty. He exhorts the rich men not to pay for temporals with spirituals, and warns the poor men to be careful not to covet riches.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

F. W. Robertson appealed to both the professional classes and the laboring people of the southern coastal resort at Brighton, in the Anglican proprietary chapel of the Trinity. The art of social preaching came to quite a high level of development in Robertson.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾

(144) Frederick W. Robertson, SERMONS, pp.551-61.

(145) Horton Davies, Op. Cit., P.320.

(146) Loc. Cit.

(147) Lyman Beecher (1775-1863), an American, preached against corrupt rulers during this period. His sermon, "The Remedy for Duelling," is of special interest. See SERMONS DELIVERED ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS, BEECHER'S WORKS, 2:34-74.

Social preaching is also evidenced by the sermons of Charles Kingsley (1819-1875). He was far more of a Socialist than Robertson, and he was far more outspoken too. He did not hesitate to point out the social evils of his day and to indict those he thought responsible for them. It was no comfort to an otherwise comfortable middle-class audience, to be told that there were more cases in hospital of female servants suffering from diseases caused by overwork than of patients suffering from any other illness (SERMONS ON NATIONAL SUBJECTS, XII, "The Fount of Science"). Again, in the first of his sermons on the 1849 cholera epidemic (SERMONS ON NATIONAL SUBJECTS, XIII) he began by telling the people that they confessed their sins and even believed that God might be punishing them for their sins, but that they became angry if anyone dared to suggest which sins they might be suffering for. Then recalling the 1833 epidemic and the Fast which was proclaimed at the time, he asked:

But did they repent of and confess those sins which had caused the cholera? Did they repent of and confess the covetousness, the tyranny, the carelessness, which in most great towns, and in too many villages, forces the poor to lodge in undrained stifling hovels, unfit for hogs, amid vapours and smells which send forth in every breath the seeds of rickets and consumption, typhus and scarlet fever, and worse and last of all, the cholera? Did they repent of their sin in that?
Not they.(148)

Robert Dale (1829-1895) was the great nonconformist at Carr's Lane Congregational Church in Birmingham. He also served on the Royal Commission on Elementary Education to improve education throughout England. Dale was a strong advocate of mission, (148) Arthur Pollard, Op. Cit., pp.49-50.

evangelism and social preaching, and he displayed the rare quality of weaving all of these interests together in a complementary rather than a conflicting way. Some of his greatest sermons were on social areas, emphasizing problems of family life in an industrial society, the relations between employer and employee, wealth and property as stewardship and the municipal duties of the Christian. He also spoke to various specific local and national issues as they arose. Dale stressed the virtues of socialism but he was also aware of its weaknesses, realizing that there would have to be a radical transformation of human nature if socialism was to succeed. A popular description of socialism states,

"Socialism says, 'What is thine, is mine;'
Christianity says, 'What is mine is thine;'
the difference is infinite."

Dale added his emphasis:

"Christianity really teaches us to say,
'What seems thine is not thine; what
seems mine is not mine; whatever thou
hast belongs to God; and whatever I
have belongs to God; you and I must use
what we have according to God's will.'" (149)

Dale fully believed in the gospel as being applicable to the person and to the social order. The will of God was to be done in all of life. Secular and sacred orders are inseparable. (150)

He was frequently entangled in social controversies. Many felt that he should remain silent on political issues, but he believed that to do so would be treasonous to his nation and to his faith. Therefore, he took an active role in politics and stood in the ranks

(149) R. W. Dale, LAWS OF CHRIST FOR COMMON LIFE, P.35.

(150) Ibid., P.5.

of the Liberal party. He was interested in conflicts between the poor and the rich, between labor and management, between aristocracy and the common man. Dale's sympathies were clearly with the side of the common poor, and he called for reform in the economic system, insisting that every man should have the opportunity to work and to earn a decent wage. He not only preached about such issues, but he was willing to become involved in the political machinery necessary to bring about reform. And yet, his sermons are characterized by a balanced blending of social concern, Christian doctrine and personal appeal. One of the most outstanding social sermons of this period by Dale was entitled "Christ and the State,"⁽¹⁵¹⁾ in which Dale strongly preached for a just government, social and political reforms, the State as a divine institution and social redemption.

If a nation has the good fortune to discover such a man as our Lord was - a man so upright, so fearless, with such pity for suffering, such hatred of injustice, and with resources so immense - what can it do better than place in his hands supreme political power, all legislative, judicial and administrative authority. . . . He will give us an ideal economic and social order, just judges, an equitable system of taxation, institutions which will relieve and diminish existing poverty and will gradually make poverty impossible.⁽¹⁵²⁾

One of the most striking and characteristic parts of his ethical teaching is what has been called "Christian Civics" - that is, the political responsibility of Christians. It is also a civic duty for all Christian citizens to use their votes with discrimination. Not to vote is irresponsibility; to vote

(151) R. W. Dale, FELLOWSHIP WITH CHRIST, pp.192-215.

(152) Ibid., P.192.

corruptly is felony; it is to appropriate to our own purposes what we have received as trustees for the town or nation. Dale's Congregational church in Birmingham included professional, middle class and working people; welded into unity because he refused to accept the distinction between "sacred" and "secular" callings, or between "professional" and "trade" occupations.

"Civic Righteousness" was his predominant pulpit theme, an appropriate one for the leading Free Church minister in England's second largest city. . . . He recognized that social justice was the legislative expression of love for one's remote neighbor. He might have assented to the bold dictum of a younger Congregational minister who became a member of Parliament and declared: "The ballot-box is the sacrament of brotherhood." (153)

Joseph Parker (1830-1902) was a convinced evangelical who not only tackled theological issues but also cared deeply about social concerns of his day. (154) He denounced social evils and advocated the reconstruction of parts of London. Parker was a crusader against alcohol and a champion of the poor, the ignorant, and the underprivileged; he gave much of his income to charity. But not only did he preach against the evils of society, but he also was willing to become involved in the social structure in an effort to correct them, becoming a candidate for Parliament for the City of London in 1880. He preached a sermon entitled simply "Back to God," in which he concludes:

(153) Horton Davies, Op. Cit., P.345. Quoted partly from a saying of the Rev. Silvester Horne, M.P.

(154) Phillips Brooks (1835-1893) was an American minister during this period who preached on social issues, and was quite outspoken in regard to slavery. He tried to minister sympathetically to poor people who suffered because of uncorrected injustices, but at the same time he sought an end to the injustices themselves. He opposed radical socialism because it trusted in the ability of man himself instead of God to destroy all evil and suffering. He favored personal development over revolutionary efforts to change society. One social sermon is entitled "Christian Charity." See Phillips Brooks, THE CANDLE OF THE LORD, pp.336-54.

Here is the great call to young preachers, to missionaries of the Cross, to Christian leaders of society, I know you have your altruism and your socialism, and your schemes for making yourselves longer holidays; I know you have your battlings and your strikes and your lock-outs and your various social confusions and misunderstandings: but unless the Lord hath forsaken my soul, and left that soul as an empty tenement. I will say that the only way out of all personal sin and social trouble is by getting back to the divine intention in the making of men and in the construction of society.(155)

Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-1892) led in the establishment of the Stockwell Orphanage and although he did not become deeply involved in public affairs to alter social injustice, he did speak on injustice in society and on immorality in personal life. His hardest blows were aimed at alcohol, but he also pled for more humane treatment of workers, criticized the rich who preyed upon the poor, stressed the importance of family, condemned slavery, preached the evil effects of war, and sought for a higher standard of righteousness for society. Social work was for him an ordinary expression of Christian character. Although he felt he was primarily called to preach the gospel, he did encourage others who were involved for the oppressed. Under his guidance and inspiration, schools for the poor, orphanages, homes for the aged, and day schools were established. He encouraged his workers to see that the needs of the poor were met. When his church was moved to the Metropolitan Tabernacle, the old property was sold and the money used for new schools and for houses for the poor. He often contributed to the needs of the poor out of his own pocket. He encouraged William Orsman and others who were

(155) Joseph Parker, STUDIES IN TEXTS: FOR FAMILY, CHURCH, AND SCHOOL, 1: 94.

working to provide shelters for the homeless. In his efforts, he preceded the work of the welfare state.

The sermon "Songs in the Night" is a product of the youthful Spurgeon. In it he shows his concern for the industrial oppression of the poor, as he comments on the wages of the Spitalfields weavers:

I am preaching tonight for the poor weavers of Spitalfields. Perhaps there are not to be found a class of men in London who are suffering a darker night than they are; for while many classes have been befriended and defended, there are few who speak up for them, and (if I am rightly informed) they are generally ground down within an inch of their lives. . . In an inquiry by the House of Commons last week, it was given in evidence that their average wages amount to seven or eight shillings a week; and then they have to furnish themselves with a room and work at expensive articles, which my friends the ladies are wearing now, and which they buy as cheaply as possible; but perhaps they do not know that they are made with the blood and bones and marrow of the Spitalfields weavers who, many of them, work for less than man ought to have to subsist upon.(156)

The same concern for the poor is shown in the sermon

"The Blind Man's Earnest Cries:"

Where did that lie first come from - the lie that the religion of Christ is not for the poor? Is it because so many of our sanctuaries are gorgeous in architecture? Is it because it is usual on the Sunday, and very properly so, for people to put on their best clothes? And does the working man think that therefore he would not be welcome because he happens to be out of work, or has not a good suit of black to put on? Then, by all means in the world let us break down this prejudice, and show to the working man that he is welcome here.

I have often noticed you give a seat to a navigator or to a labourer in a smock frock when you have left very respectable people to

(156) THE PROTESTANT PULPIT, Op. Cit., P.120.

stand in the aisles, and I do not blame you for it; well-dressed people may be less fatigued than those who have been toiling all the week; I admire the choice you make, because I hope it will go to prove that the working man is not a speckled bird among us.

Why, it is all nonsense because we see a congregation well and respectably dressed to think that they must all necessarily belong to the upper class. A certain preacher said to me the other day, "You preach to the rich, I preach to the poor." Now this was from want of knowing better. We have, I am happy to say, some rich among us, whose princely gifts enable us to do much for the Lord's work; but still our great multitude is made up of the genuine working class.(157)

Spurgeon's sermon "India's Ills and England's Sorrows" must rank among the most fascinating ever preached. In places Spurgeon luxuriated in the purplest of prose, but the overall theme is an illustration of his application of spiritual truths to current events and social issues.

"Long have I held that war is an enormous crime. . . . As a rule I do not believe in the utility of capital punishment, but the crime has been attended with all the horrid guilt of the cities of the plain, and is too bestial to be endured."(158)

Get you on your feet; ye that have voices and might, go forth and preach the gospel, preach it in every street and lane of this huge city; ye that have wealth, go forth and spend it for the poor, and sick, and needy, and dying, the uneducated, the unenlightened; ye that have time, go forth and spend it in deeds of goodness; ye that have power in prayer, go forth and pray; ye that can handle the pen, go forth and write down iniquity - everyone to his post, everyone of you to your gun in this day of battle; now for God and for his truth; for God and for the right; let every one of us who knows the Lord seek to fight under his banner! O God, without whom all our exertions are vain, come now and stir up thy church to greater diligence and more affectionate earnestness, that we may not have in the future such cause to weep as we have this day!

(157) Charles Haddon Spurgeon, THE METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE PULPIT, 11:462.

(158) Charles Haddon Spurgeon, THE NEW PARK STREET PULPIT: CONTAINING SERMONS, 3:343,

Sinners, believe on the Lord Jesus; he hath died;
look to him and live, and God the Almighty bless
you! To God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be
glory for ever and ever.(159)

William Booth (1829-1912) began his mission work in East London in 1865, and by 1878 this became the Salvation Army. Booth had been always dedicated to evangelism, but the horrible conditions of the poor made him realize that something had to be done to alleviate their suffering, so he commanded his army to move to meet the needs of the poor. With maturity he realized that persons need more than a religious experience to climb above the horrors of poverty in London. Booth saw men and women sleeping outside in winter, with nothing but paper to protect them. He saw thousands of children sold into prostitution before they were fourteen years old. He saw alcoholism, unemployment and slums, with the wealthy growing even wealthier on the suffering of the poor.

He moved to establish numerous services and institutions.

His book IN DARKEST ENGLAND AND THE WAY OUT set forth his plans for social action, and he said,

"We saw the need. We saw the people starving, we saw people going about half-naked, people doing sweated labour; and we set about bringing a remedy for these things. We were obliged - there was a compulsion. How could you do anything else?"(160)

One of his outstanding social sermons is entitled "'Darkest England' Scheme."(161)

(159) Ibid., 3:348.

(160) Richard Collier, THE GENERAL NEXT TO GOD, p.175.

The American, T. Dewitt Talmage (1832-1902) was also a social preacher during this period, preaching against corruption in civil government and denouncing specific cases of fraud.

See Fant & Pinson, Op. Cit., 5:278.

(161) THE FOUNDER SPEAKS AGAIN: A SELECTION OF THE WRITINGS OF WILLIAM BOOTH, pp.151-56.

I sorrowfully admit that it would be utopian in our present social arrangements to dream of attaining for every honest Englishman a jail standard of all the necessities of life. Some time, perhaps, we may venture to hope that every honest worker on English soil will always be as warmly clad, as healthily housed, and as regularly fed as our criminal convicts - but that is not yet.

Neither is it possible to hope for many years to come that human beings generally will be as well cared for as horses.(162)

Booth then goes on to preach six essentials for the success of a national scheme to meet the social needs of his day.(163)

The Essentials to Success

The first essential that must be borne in mind as governing every scheme that may be put forward is that it must change the man when it is his character and conduct which constitute the reasons for his failure in the battle of life. If he is a drunkard, he must be made sober; if idle, he must be made industrious; if criminal, he must be made honest; if impure, he must be made clean; and if he be so deep down in vice, and has been there so long that he has lost all heart and hope, and power to help himself, and absolutely refuses to move, he must be inspired with hope and have created within him the ambition to rise; otherwise he will never get out of the horrible pit.

(162) Ibid., P.151.

(163) Horace Bushnell (1802-1876), the American, preached about equality, the political order, politicians and the relation of religious and political matters.

Theodore Parker (1810-1860), the American, was forthright in his application of scriptural principles to social injustice, taking strong stands on controversial issues, e.g., war, poverty, slavery and alcohol. He described in harsh terms the sins of the wealthy and the corruption of the private property system. See his sermon entitled "Poverty," SIN AND SAFEGUARDS OF SOCIETY, ed. Samuel B. Stewart, centenary ed. pp.263-87.

Secondly: The remedy, to be effectual, must change the circumstances of the individual when they are the cause of his wretched condition, and lie beyond his control. Among those who have arrived at their present evil plight through faults of self-indulgence or some defect in their moral character, how many are there who would have been very differently placed today had their surroundings been otherwise?

Thirdly: Any remedy worthy of consideration must be on a scale commensurate with the evil with which it proposes to deal. There must be no more philanthropic tinkering, as if this vast sea of human misery were contained in the limits of a garden pond.

Fourthly: Not only must the scheme be large enough, but it must be permanent, to go on dealing with the misery of tomorrow and the day after, so long as there is misery left in the world with which to grapple.

Fifthly: But while it must be permanent, it must also be immediately practicable.

Sixthly: The indirect features of the scheme must not be such as to produce injury to the persons whom we seek to benefit. Mere charity, for instance, while relieving the pinch of hunger, demoralizes the recipient.

Seventhly: While assisting one class of the community, it must not seriously interfere with the interests of another. In raising one section of the fallen, we must not thereby endanger the safety of those who with difficulty are keeping on their feet.(164)

Among the great preachers of England during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries there is a noble line of prophets, in the proclamation of the will of God to Society and State as well as to the Church. (165)

(165) Washington Gladden (1836-1918) was one of the most outstanding of American social preachers during this time. His sermons are filled with references to social issues. He was particularly concerned about subjects related to economics and labor-management disputes. At first he urged the application of the spirit of Jesus to the conflict in the economic area. Then later he felt that more was needed, and believed more and more that some form of socialism with its public ownership of production and distribution was the answer. Gladden was also active in social involvement, wrote over forty books on religion and social problems, and was known as a prophet of social justice. His attitude is well summarized in the conclusion of "Religion and the Social question:"

I trust my brethren, that I have made plain to you my own deep conviction that the work of the ministry in these days must be deeply concerned with social questions. I trust that you will all find in your own hearts a growing interest in these questions, and that you will be able to communicate that interest to the people to whom you are sent; to kindle in their hearts the enthusiasm of humanity, and guide them in their thoughts and labors for their fellow men.

And I trust that you can also see this social teaching and social service is not something outside of religion; that religion is and must be the heart and soul of it all; that it means nothing but religion coming to reality in everyday life; the divine ideal descending upon human society and transforming it from glory to glory, even as by the spirit of the Lord.

See Washington Gladden, SOCIAL SALVATION, pp.29-30. Most of that which Gladden preached in his social sermons came to pass by the middle of the twentieth century.

3. Nineteenth Century Scotland

Nineteenth century religion in Scotland tended to be legalistic, moralistic and pietistic. There was a significant relaxing of discipline on economic activity and the cessation of almost all social criticism. The Church had lost its control and influence in society. There was mostly pulpit silence on all the public issues of the times.

It was the Christian duty of those at the base of the social pyramid to be content because their position was assigned to them by the immutable will of God. The poor should be content with their lot because their condition also provided the rich with an opportunity of Christian activity.

Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847) was called to the parish of Tron in Glasgow in 1815. The city was filled with problems common to those cities in the midst of the Industrial Revolution - teeming masses packed into apartment house slums. He began an extensive church program to reach and minister to all elements of society in Glasgow. It was the poor who especially attracted his attention, and he began work to improve their conditions. He started schools and insisted that the poor should be cared for by the church through free-will offerings rather than by the state through a program of enforced taxation. For eight years he labored under the strenuous demands of this ministry, and then he accepted the Chair of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews University in 1823, believing that this teaching position would afford him more opportunity to do what he felt he must do within the Christian movement. Again in St. Andrews,

his attention was turned toward the poor. In 1823 Chalmers was elected to the Chair of Theology at the University of Edinburgh, where his fame as a preacher increased. He also held special classes for the poor of the city apart from his regular teaching. He believed that the three essential qualities of a parish church were to preach the Bible, to teach the young and to care for the poor. He was not just interested in handouts, but tried to give a helping hand, allowing the poor to maintain their own dignity. He frequently preferred to preach in the churches of the poor, spending much of his time in a ministry in Westport, a district of the city where poverty abounded. There he established Christian agencies for the impoverished population, and a tanner's loft was his preaching place.

Not only did he minister to the poor himself, but he urged others to do so. Thomas Guthrie came from a beautiful parish to St. John's in Edinburgh, and one day he stood on George IV Bridge looking with discouragement at the slums which were a part of his new parish. A voice behind him then said,

"A magnificent field of operations, sir -
a magnificent field of operations!"(166)

The voice was that of Thomas Chalmers.

He spoke of the blight of poverty created by the ups and downs of the economic life of Europe at that time. His sermons ring with the zeal of social reform, as he sought to awaken the merchants of Glasgow to a sense of guilt, for their indifference to the great needs of the poor.

(166) Harry C. Howard, PRINCES OF THE CHRISTIAN PULPIT AND PASTORATE, P.155.

He was disturbed by the crushing effects of industrialism and his sermons mirrored that concern. Chalmers believed that the gospel must lie at the heart of all personal and social reform, and he believed that mankind's evils are rooted in sin. Therefore, there was a balance in his piety and social zeal. An illustration of this would be in his most famous sermon, preached in St. John's Church, "The Expulsive Power of a New Affection," where he mentions wealth, social and domestic moralities and the needs of society.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ He preaches against corruption in government.

. . . almost everything connected with the interest of the public comes under the putrifying touch of money or of politics - that corruption has insinuated itself into every department of State - that men are summoned up into offices of distinction who are only calculated to cover a nation with disgrace, and expose it to the derision of its enemies - that public voice has lost its energy, and the united indignation of a whole people is often unable to drag to punishment those delinquents whom patronage has exalted and the smiles of a court have sheltered from infamy.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾

But Chalmers also preached in a sermon that there was

" . . . nothing in the progress of religion which is at all calculated to level the gradations of human ranks, or to do away with the distinctions of human society."⁽¹⁶⁹⁾

(167) Fant & Pinson, Op. Cit., 3:300-314.

(168) Ibid., 3:282.

(169) W. Hana, MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THOMAS CHALMERS, Vol.II, P.202.

Chalmers was evidently partly blind to the fact that the massive destitution was an inevitable derivative of the existing social pyramid. A tragic dichotomy between the world of the soul and the present life of society was a main feature of the thought of the times. Chalmers preached at the laying of the foundation-stone of the new Free Church College in Edinburgh:

We leave to others the passions and the politics of this world; and nothing will ever be taught, I trust, in any of our halls, which shall have the remotest tendency to disturb the existing order of things, or to confound the ranks and distinctions which now obtain in society. But there is one equality between man and man which shall be strenuously taught - the essential equality of human souls; and that in the highest court and reckoning of eternity, the souls of the poorest of nature's children - the raggedest boy who runs along the pavement, is of like estimation in the eyes of heaven with that of the greatest and noblest of our land.(170)

But although Chalmers did apparently accept the existing class structure of society as right and inevitable, he certainly was not opposed to a higher standard of living for the poorer classes. The social work of Chalmers remains a bright light in the social history of the Church in Scotland. He divided up a large urban area into small sections so that the voluntary worker could have personal knowledge of the poor and their circumstances; and in this respect his example has been largely followed. He taught the evil of promiscuous and sentimental giving and so anticipated by many decades the arguments of Charles Loch and his associates in the Charity Organization Society. He pleaded for real understanding of

(170) THE WITNESS, June 6, 1846, P.2.

all applications for relief, even at the cost of time and trouble on the part of the investigator. He proclaimed the necessity of exhausting all possible sources of help before resorting to public funds. He gave some attention to the selection and training of his workers.

"Nearly a century before organized formalized training began, Chalmers was thinking out what would be the best kind of people to supervise the districts and what advice on principle and method he could give them. It is, however, of interest that there was still some bifurcation between the social work and the social preaching of this renowned social reformer and preacher.

During the mid-century times, the response of the churches to the destitute masses and the appalling conditions of the lower classes was meager. The minister of Free St. David's Church in Glasgow preached in 1849 that all men ought to fear God and honour the king:

. . . those who are best acquainted with such matters will be the first to state that the discontented, on such occasions, [unemployment demonstrations] mainly consist of persons who make no profession of religion at all; and that their dissatisfactions are restrained and rendered safe by the sounder and more loyal principles of their fellow-workman, who, as part of their religion, 'fear God' and honour the king."(171)

There were, however, a few rare exceptions among the ranks of clergy who seemed somewhat suspicious of the motives of those who preached the Christian duty of submissiveness, like William Anderson in 1830, of John Street Church in Glasgow who was involved in some of the public movements of the day:

(171) John C. Lorimer, CHRISTIAN LOYALTY, P.35.

There are some preachers who presume to inculcate that it is unbecoming of Christians to take part in political disputes, and they will prostitute the Scriptures in their advocacy of the perpetuation of abuses, calling upon us to "meddle not with them that are given to change," as if all desire of change implied a discontentedness of disposition which nothing will satisfy. Those disclaimers against politics will usually be found to be themselves the most violent political partisans in the defense of corruption, that it be allowed to fester undisturbed.(172)

During the 1830's some clergy were castigated for using their pulpits in support of the Tories.(173) One clergyman wrote that it is,

"... by moral remedies - by the preaching and the teaching of the Word of God - that the evils of such a state of society are to be permanently healed."(174)

Passive obedience was the strong contemporary theme of the day in the pulpits. The Gospel was preached as the wonderful consolation of the poor in many sermons.(175)

But churchmen began to express more alarm at the degraded and miserable conditions of poorer classes caused by destitution. George Lewis spoke of the condition of the poor in his parish of St. David's in Dundee, remarking that every sixth family was deprived of the father due to epidemics which swept the poorer districts. Yet the surviving widows and children received only a pittance in relief (1/- or 1/6d. per week).(176)

- (172) William Anderson, "CHRISTIAN LOYALTY TO EARTHLY PRINCES."
Quoted from G. Gilfillan, LIFE OF REV WILLIAM ANDERSON, P.107.
- (173) THE CHRISTIAN JOURNAL, January 1838, P.8;
THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND MAGAZINE, May 1834, pp.85-86.
- (174) George Lewis, THE CHURCH IN THE FIRE, P.16.
- (175) THE SCOTTISH CHRISTIAN HERALD, June 22, 1839, pp.385-386.
W. Hanna, ed., SERMONS BY THE LATE THOMAS CHALMERS,
Vol.VI, P.387.
- (176) George Lewis, THE PAUPER BILL OF DUNDEE, P.4.

The early Chartist ministers tended to blame the misery and poverty of the lower classes on the human depravity of the victims themselves and upon God's providence, not on unjust laws and institutions or on the exploitation of the rich. (177)

The first half of the nineteenth century was one of almost total prophetic failure and social conformity. There were, however, a few scattered exceptions among the churchmen of this time like Patrick Brewster of Paisley Abbey. He was deeply shocked by the indifference of the privileged classes to the poverty and misery of the masses of working classes. Brewster drew his inspiration from the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament and the example of the early Scottish Reformers, and became a dynamic and forthright prophetic preacher on the great public issues of his day. (178)

He claimed that it was the privilege and duty of ministers of the Church of Scotland to subject government and national life to the criticism of the sovereign word of God. (179)

Brewster held that secular affairs and politics were to be regarded as an essential part of the duty of the minister. (180) He maintained that those who preached the word of God but neglected its application to national life were perverting the Gospel and robbing it of its power. (181)

(177) THE CHARTIST CIRCULAR, July 4, 1840, pp.165-166.

(178) Patrick Brewster, THE SEVEN CHARTIST AND MILITARY DISCOURSES.

(179) Ibid., pp.423-424.

(180) Ibid., P.417.

(181) Ibid., pp.419-420.

In one sermon he preached that it was not possible to

"separate religion from politics." (182)

Brewster criticized the clergy for preaching passive obedience to the lower classes, charging that such preaching plays into the hands of the exploiting classes. (183) The social preaching of Brewster is clear and powerful:

Never will man be restored, permanently, to his right as a man and never will Christianity be brought back to its native dignity and power, till it is again preached in its unmixed purity, and unshorn strength, - till it is made to penetrate the PALACE of the rich, as well as the COTTAGE of the poor, - and the COTTAGE of the poor as well as the PALACE of the rich; and to strike with the thunder of its rebuke and the terror of its frown, the proud heart of him, who, by his consent to a wicked law, is accessory to the daily perpetration of ten thousand robberies.

. . . If to preach such doctrines be politics, then such be our politics and our preaching, for they were the politics and the preaching of the holy Prophets and Apostles - aye and of the great Lord of the vineyard himself, who, descending from the glories and blessedness of eternity, met shame and contempt and death, that he might bring deliverance in time, and salvation through eternity, to the sinful, the suffering and the oppressed children of men. (184)

Brewster perceived that the cause of widespread distress and poverty was the grossly unequal distribution of wealth. (185)

He used some sermons to launch an attack upon the selfishness, greed and prejudice of the rich. (186) He denounced the consequences of the exercise of irresponsible power by privileged classes. (187)

(182) Ibid., pp.63-64.

(183) Ibid., pp.6-10, 14, 183, 234-235, 276-313.

(184) Ibid., pp.33-34.

(185) Ibid., pp.157-158.

(186) Ibid., pp.218-219.

(187) Ibid., P.309.

Patrick Brewster became involved in constant controversy because of his preaching and was the object of several investigations by the church courts, accused of inciting the lower classes against the rich by his preaching.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ Eventually, the General Assembly suspended him from his ministerial duties for one year, although the actual suspension was evidently never carried out.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ He was more the victim of political persecution against his association with the Chartists. He vigorously championed the working class causes of his day - views mostly diametrically opposed to those of Chalmers and the vast majority of the churchmen of the time. He was among a small minority who were for a national system of education. He was strongly concerned about the poor and the unemployed.

Brewster preached that it was because of the Church and the aristocracy which resisted poor law reform that the sufferings of Scotland's

"poor from unrelieved destitution are a thousand-fold greater than in England."⁽¹⁹⁰⁾

He preserved the historic prophetic tradition of social preaching in the first half of the nineteenth century, during times when it was far from easy or popular to preach social justice and righteousness. He was actually aware of this when he preached:

(188) THE CHURCH REVIEW AND SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL MAGAZINE, July 1836, pp.86-93.

(189) REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, June 1842, pp.292-297.

(190) Ibid., p.94.

Any Christian minister preaching the word of God in its universal application and attempting to inculcate the exercise of those virtues upon all classes of men equally without respect to persons, and demanding of the rich and powerful, - not purity, gentleness, peaceableness, and all that beautiful train of virtues . . . but only a single virtue, the virtue of JUSTICE. . . any such minister need not be surprised if he meet with opposition, reproach and persecution. (191)

It was indeed tragic that there were not more clergymen during these critical years who had the courage for social preaching. Patrick Brewster kept alive the authentic spark of Christian social criticism in the Scottish Church when it had almost disappeared.

Stewart Mechie has written the following about some accusations against Patrick Brewster:

As for the charge of preaching worldly politics, he said his accusers preached worldly politics as much as he: they preached submission to the civil power, without anyone questioning them; but fault was found with him when he preached justice for the oppressed and bread for the hungry. He denied ever having called the aristocracy heartless murderers of the poor; but he did insist that they had no such absolute unqualified right to their land as to deny a sufficient supply of food for the poor.(192)

Mechie agrees that,

"The Chartists and Military Sermons are certainly clear, vigorous, and forthright; but it is hard to see how they could provide grounds for a libel."(193)

Brewster was strongly against slavery and slave trade, and promoted abstinence from intoxicating liquors. Mechie says that Brewster was

"decidedly a man in advance of his time."(194)

(191) Ibid., P.248.

(192) Stewart Mechie, THE CHURCH AND SCOTTISH SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT 1780-1870. P.109.

(193) Ibid., P.116.

(194) Ibid., P.118.

James Begg was deeply involved in promoting better housing for the working class, although his sermons reveal little of his social concern. William Chambers, writing to Edwin Chadwick, admitted that housing conditions were poor in Edinburgh, and says

"They have gravitated to a point of wretchedness from which no effort of the pulpit, the press or the School-master can raise them." (195)

During the latter half of the nineteenth century in Scotland, there was a gradual development and recovery of social criticism. Churchmen regretted the growing gap between the rich and the poor but they were blind to see the real causes of the social disintegration of society - the social and economic inequalities of the people which had arisen out of the changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution. The Church seemed obsessed with the need to preserve intact their divinely-ordained social class pyramid.

A Moderator of the General Assembly, A. H. Charteris, stated proudly in 1892:

"The ministers of the Church of Scotland from their very position are naturally, for the most part, on the side of those who maintain the institutions of the country." (196)

The famous Horatius Bonar expressed that a diversion of attention from moral reform to social reform would be damaging to the spiritual life.

I decline pulpit politics altogether, and dread the engrossment of political questions anywhere or in any shape. I remember the words of Mr. Harrington Evans, "Ardent engagement in political disputes is one great hinderance to the spirituality of the soul;" and I have seen in a long ministerial experience that when politics come in, religious life goes out. (197)

(195) Ibid., P.122. quoted from REPORTS ON THE SANITARY CONDITION OF THE LABOURING POPULATION OF SCOTLAND, 1842, pp.154f.

(196) MODERATORS' CLOSING ADDRESSES 1836-1905, Vol.3, P.27.

(197)

It was felt that there ought to be a strong emphasis on private virtues, and that this with individual spiritual regeneration would inevitably produce a just society. It was optimistically expected that, with Christianity

. . . leaving the education of our children - pervading our literature - and faithfully preached in our pulpits, we may be certain that men will make progress in their social welfare - that oppression and vice will gradually disappear - that society, though exhibiting irregularities, will be one vast family whose members are united to each other by love, and all by the same tie to one God, and that peace and prosperity will thus become universal.(198)

By 1850, it was quite obvious that the working classes were alienated from the life and worship of the Church. But clergymen blamed this on moral and spiritual causes, being blind to the Church's anti-working class bias, social aloofness, and middle class pattern of church life. One of the more enlightened clergy, Thomas Gordon, in a sermon, blamed the Church's indifference to the social conditions of working classes and stated that as a consequence,

" . . . infidelity is at present claiming to be the champion of social reform, and foremost in such movements are many who make no pretensions to holiness, but who though they fear not God, are eager in shewing their love to men."(199)

He further preached that many workers had come to regard organized Christianity as an enemy of social reform,

. . . the Church as a contrivance for keeping the people in ignorance, - and the clergy as mere state tools, who care not for the poor. Socialism and secularism are held up as levers, by which the working classes may be freed from their present

(198) James Rankin, A HANDBOOK OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, P.228-229.

(199) THE EDINBURGH CHRISTIAN MAGAZINE, March 1856, P.356.

hardships and obtain a fair share of those profits of which they are at present defrauded. The aristocracy and the clergy, masters and capitalists, are represented as combining to enslave and starve them.(200)

There were a few who saw the divorce in the Church between

"the spirit of Christ and the actual affairs of life."(201)

One writer maintained that the reason for the situation was an inadequacy in preaching - it was

"too exclusively doctrinal and abstract,"(202)

unrelated to real life.

The Church generally was ethically insensitive and unaware of her prophetic responsibility, although during the last half of the nineteenth century there was a strong evangelistic concern, philanthropic zeal, and social alarm among the Christian middle classes. The Church emphasized home mission work - preaching the Gospel to the poor.

Here was an example of charity without justice, as the Church taught its people to visit the poor, teach them the Bible, give them advice, alms, unwanted clothes and soup. Religious revivals gave great impetus to philanthropic endeavor and home mission work. Dedicated men and women spent their lives in evangelistic and charitable work, although it was tragic that so few Christians directed their energies to the basic causes of poverty. Charity and evangelism were the substitutes for social justice.

(200) Ibid., P.355.

(201) THE FREE CHURCH MAGAZINE, May 1850, P.129

(202) Ibid., P.130.

When the trade union movement began, apparently the view of the Church was that the activity of trade unions was disruptive and violated moral virtue. As one Church writer complained:

Its whole tendency is to paralyze industry and enterprise. It reverses the moral conditions on which prosperity and progress depend. We have been accustomed to think that the hand of the diligent maketh rich. It has been our fancy that the conscientious servant watches the interests of his master as if they were his own, and that, according to the New Testament doctrine, he will be rewarded for doing so by the Great Taskmaster.(203)

In spite of the new political and economic power that was coming into the hands of the working classes, the Church remained blind and still cherished and defended the old order of society. The anti-trade union sentiment of the Church probably further alienated the working classes from its worship. In general, the Church still attributed poverty to God's providence or their own moral and spiritual failings. The Church still had her class bias, her moralistic tendencies, and her individualistic presuppositions. The Church, as a whole, gave little attention to the critical social issues of the nineteenth century, although during the latter half of the century, one progressive clergyman George Lewis, declared in the General Assembly that:

(203) THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, March, 1867, P.31.

We are seeing now what we did not even in Dr. Chalmers' days, that to honour the whole of human nature as God's production - man's soul and his body - and to seek to raise the whole at once, is the only possible way of solving this problem. . . . we now see that we must not only have churches and schools, but we must have cleanliness next to godliness from our magistrates and from our government; we must have the dwellings of our people improved, and our people must have a pleasant home on earth before we can raise them to the thought of a home in the heavens.(204)

Another clergyman, James Begg, boldly proclaimed that among the many factors which allowed the appalling social conditions among the poorer classes to continue was the prevalence of

" . . . a dumb and unfaithful pulpit."(205)

Thomas Guthrie (1803-1873) was a defender of the rights of the poor, a philanthropist, an innovator in education, and an ardent advocate of total abstinence. It was in these ways that he displayed his social concern. His ministry was a mixed balance of evangelistic interest, social concern, and foreign mission interest. He linked together evangelism, missions, pastoral care and social concern in a refreshingly effective manner. Great crowds would pack his church, where the rich and poor alike found their way to the slum parish in Edinburgh.

- (204) PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1856, P.144.
(205) THE HOME AND FOREIGN RECORD OF THE FREE CHURCH
OF SCOTLAND, September 1860, P.37.

Guthrie blended his social concerns with his other preaching:

How many more sinners might I have warned;
 how many more wretched might I have blessed;
 how many more naked might I have clothed;
 how many more poor might I have fed;
 how many in hell may be cursing my want of
 faithfulness; how few in heaven are
 blessing God for my Christian, kind
 fidelity! Ah, the best of us will be
 thankful to be taken to glory, not as
 profitable servants, but as
 sinners saved.(206)

Alexander MacLaren (1826-1910) was little affected by new ideas concerning social reform. He was concerned about moral and social issues, but he didn't believe in changing persons through the changing of social institutions. Social rightness was merely a projection of personal rightness; if persons could be made right, then society would be right. Social evils would disappear, if Christians would only do what the gospel demanded of them. If Christians were just in their economic dealings, there would be no economic injustice. Socialist theory had little appeal to MacLaren, which is interesting since his father had such liberal leanings.

But although MacLaren's ideas of social reform were centered in the individual, he did attack social ills.

(206) Thomas Guthrie, THE WAY TO LIFE:
SERMONS, P.309.

In a sermon entitled "The Christian Attitude to Social Sins" he preached:

What was it that kept slavery alive for centuries? Largely, that Christian men solemnly declared that it was a Divine institution. What is it that has kept war alive for all these centuries? Largely, that bishops and preachers have always been ready to bless colors, and to read a christening service over a man-of-war and, I suppose, to ask God that an eight-ton gun might be blessed to smash our enemies to pieces, and not to blow our sailors to bits. And what is it that preserves the crying evils of our community, the moralities, the drunkenness, the trade dishonesty, and all the other things that I do not need to remind you of in the pulpit? Largely this, that professing Christians are mixed up with them. If only the whole body of those who profess and call themselves Christians would shake their hands clear of all complicity with such things, they could not last.(207)

MacLaren also called for direct action by Christians against social problems, and in the same sermon he declared:

This task is laid on the shoulders of all professing Christians. A silent abstinence is not enough. . . . If Christian people think they have done all their duty, in regard of clamant and common iniquities, by simply abstaining from them and presenting a noble example, they have yet to learn one very important chapter of their duty.

(207) Gaius Glenn Atkins, ed.,
THE BEST OF ALEXANDER MACLAREN, P.90.

A dumb church is a dying church, and it ought to be. For Christ sent us here in order, amongst other things, that we may bring Christian principles to bear upon the actions of the community, and not be afraid to speak when we are called upon by conscience to do so.(208)

MacLaren felt that evangelism and social concern must go together. He built his preaching upon the authority of the Bible, and applied it to the deeds of his people - both as persons and as members of the social order. He did not become involved in social and political activities as did some preachers of his day, but he did not ignore social evils in the pulpit.(209)

Alexander Whyte (1836-1921) was the outstanding Scotsman who eventually became Principal of New College. Social issues never became a major concern for Whyte in his preaching or ministry. But he did not completely neglect them. His diary illustrates his concern for the public betterment and his efforts to enlist church officers in the campaigns.(210) He advocated total abstinence when such a policy was unpopular in his church. Possibly Whyte so seldom became involved in social issues because of his fear of controversy in the church, for he preached only indirectly of social issues.

(208) Loc. Cit.

(209) Fant & Pinson, Op. Cit., 5:36.

In this sermon MacLaren refers to many of the problems in society.

(210) G. F. Barbour, THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER WHYTE, D.D., pp.219-220.

Walter Rauschenbusch wrote in CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIAL CRISIS (1912):

Preaching on social questions is not an innovation in the history of the pulpit. The Church Fathers, the great mediaeval preachers, the leaders of the Reformation - all dealt more boldly with public questions than the classical sermonizers of the generations just preceding ours. In all the history of preaching the pulpit has perhaps never been so silent in this direction as in the nineteenth century before the social movement began to affect Christian thought.(211.

- (211) Walter Rauschenbusch,
CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS, P.358.
 (Rauschenbusch attributes some of this thought to
 Nathusius, NITARBEIT DER KIRCHE, P.487).

G. CONCLUSIONS

There is a prophetic line of social preaching that can be traced from biblical days to the twentieth century. We have seen a panorama of social preaching down through the centuries - along with differing social structures and changing social responses.

Response to social concerns in history was also seen to stem from the State, other sectors of the Church and private individuals. The Church responded to social issues in many ways; for example, Church legislation, social preaching and social welfare work. These responses had a relationship to each other, as well as to the State and individual responses. For example, when the Church could not legislate itself, it would at times try to persuade through preaching or to be especially benevolent to the poor. When the Church did legislate or make primitive social pronouncements, social preaching and individual benevolency tended to lessen.

Social preaching has been seen to be rooted in the Old Testament prophets. Jesus, the writer of the New Testament and the church fathers further developed social preaching. When the Church dominated all of medieval life, the general quality of primitive social preaching diminished - to be renewed in the reformation period. Then the pendulum of pulpit social concern swung away again until the nineteenth century, with a few notable exceptions like John Wesley.

Social concern reflected in preaching became increasingly evident among the clergy during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The notion that existing social conditions were sacrosanct began to slowly die, and the prophetic pulpit began to regain its

courageous voice. Enlightened attitudes became more evidenced towards progressive social reforms. This recovery of social conscience appeared to develop in England several decades before it evolved in Scotland, although the social conditions were generally worse in Scotland. A few great names stand out in England in the field of social preaching, while in Scotland generally the lesser lights brightened the way towards more social enlightenment.

It is too early for a full comparison of the pulpit social response of England and Scotland. England, however, did have a head start in its social tradition and theology, while Scotland's social preaching appears to have developed later. England's recovery of social criticism in the pulpit was perhaps more due to the study of theological doctrine, while in Scotland (as will be more clearly seen in a later chapter) social preaching was given rebirth by the rediscovery of the social message of the prophets. Renewal of an authentic Christian social tradition in England was sparked by Maurice and his followers with their emphasis upon the importance of human beings and the concept of fellowship or community, during the middle of the nineteenth century. The recovery of a social conscience in Scotland was sparked more by George Adam Smith and others with their renewed emphasis on the prophetic preaching of the Old Testament, at the end of the nineteenth century. Social preaching did not actually have an adequate social theory or theology of society until the twentieth century.

It is interesting that so many of the acknowledged great preachers of history, dealt with social issues in their preaching,

even though it often took the immature form of an exhortation to charity rather than justice. Perhaps the social preaching of these men is one reason why they became so renowned - their messages were highly relevant to their times.

The picture of social preaching has been a varied one, using many types of homiletical techniques, theological themes and psychological approaches. At times the social voice of the pulpit has been strong; at other times it could hardly be heard. At times it was wise; at other times foolish. At times it was negative and critical; at other times it was positive and constructive. A whole range of issues and subjects have been topics of the social pulpit. A wide range of theological doctrines and sociological theories have been related to its social message. But, generally, there has developed through the centuries a wiser and more sophisticated methodology of social preaching.

One of the traditional themes of social sermons has been the extravagance of the rich and the neglect of the poor. Other widely used themes have dwelt with general social conditions, slavery, usury, political measures, and more personal areas of ethics like temperance and the Sabbath. The educational concerns, however, were not mentioned nearly as frequently. Social areas were perhaps preached about most, with political areas also being strongly used as social preaching themes during some periods. It should be noted that prophetic protest was generally stronger when economic conditions declined.

One senses the need for further investigation and critical study in several areas - possible subjects for other theses. These include the comparison of the social theories of Luther and Calvin. Traditionally, in their social outlook Calvinism has been seen to be activistic, Lutheranism more conservative; Calvinism to be more for the transformation of the State by the Church, Lutheranism more for the subservience of the Church to the State. More examinations need to be made in the relationship of capitalism and Protestantism - the views of such men as Troeltsch, Tawney, Weber, Niebuhr and others. The question of the medieval influence is still with us to some extent, with the tendency toward individual rather than social aspects of religion. Another separate study might be made on the possibility of Scotland drawing more of the social theory of Calvin, while England was, perhaps, drawing more on the social theory of Luther. The social effects of the evangelistic revivals appears to need further investigation also.

The Church has generally been seen as a markedly conservative institution, strongly supporting the existing order of society; usually blind to the real source of social problems, conforming to its environment and exceedingly slow to change. But there have always been men who possessed courage to preach relevantly to the social issues of their times. Toward the end of the nineteenth century a definite trend is in evidence toward a renewal of social criticism and construction in the pulpits of England and Scotland,

as will be more clearly brought out in a later chapter. We will witness a strong resurgence of social preaching at the turn of the century.

In the next chapter, we will look at some of the national social issues - to which clergymen responded by social preaching in our own twentieth century.

CHAPTER III. ECONOMIC-WELFARE ISSUES OF BRITAIN

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A. THE INTRODUCTION

B. NINETEENTH CENTURY RETROSPECT

1. Economic Conditions
2. Education Conditions
 - a. England
 - b. Scotland
3. Welfare Conditions

C. PRIOR TO WORLD WAR I

1. Economic Issues
2. Education Issues
 - a. England
 - b. Scotland
3. Welfare Issues

D. WORLD WAR I TO WORLD WAR II

1. Economic Issues
2. Education Issues
 - a. England
 - b. Scotland
3. Welfare Issues

E. WORLD WAR II AND AFTERWARD

1. Economic Issues
2. Education Issues
 - a. England
 - b. Scotland
3. Welfare Issues

A. THE INTRODUCTION

"Man has changed more in the last hundred years than in the previous thousand."(1)

It is the purpose of this chapter to portray some of the larger national social issues of the twentieth century in England and Scotland. This is imperative, of course, in order to calculate the coverage of the issues by social preaching and other responses of the Church. It is almost impossible to condense many hundreds of books on economic history, educational history and welfare history into a brief chapter. Therefore, this is an attempt to describe the more important controversial national issues in the economic, education and welfare areas during the present century. Education has been included because of its close relationship to economic and welfare factors. General historical facts will be largely left out of this study, although some of the more important trends and movements have been included. The issue of war has been excluded from this particular study; however, the effects of the wars on social issues have been briefly included. The social service acts of more direct economic significance have been included in the economic sections, while the welfare sections have been used to include a variety of social issues, other than economic and educational. Various periodicals and newspapers have been consulted for certain periods.

(1) G. M. Trevelyan, ENGLISH SOCIAL HISTORY, P.97.

There has been a radical revolution in the social order during the twentieth century. The older social problems have largely persisted and many new ones have come to light. Equality has been the key issue, taking many forms. This period has been called

"the century of the common man,"

"the era of violence"

and

"the age of the working class."

It will be remembered for its social legislation, a breaking down of class divisions, the spread of equality, growing affluence, devaluation and inflation, a breaking down of ethics and codes and a search for sensation and sensationalism.

B. NINETEENTH CENTURY RETROSPECT

1. Economic Conditions

Many Victorian consciences had been roused by the terrible inequalities in the distribution of wealth made evident from about 1770 onwards, and some reforms had been made by philanthropic individuals and societies as well as by several of the succeeding British parliaments or governments. A new spirit of freedom began to rustle through Britain, as horizons were widened and ambitions were stimulated. But many people deliberately turned a blind eye to any signs of the seething resentment of the oppressed working class.

Britain had been transformed into a democracy by the Parliamentary Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867. The earlier bill improved the representation of the industrial regions although people were still not allowed to vote unless they possessed a certain minimum of property.

The sufferings of the unemployed after the Napoleonic wars were appalling and led to the Chartists riots of the 1840's. These were suppressed and many of the poor continued to suffer and starve. During the middle of the 1800's, the upper and middle classes were prosperous, while the bulk of the population was crying for the bare necessities of survival. These living conditions remained a disgrace until well into the twentieth century.

E. S. Turner in ROADS TO RUIN describes some of the nineteenth century working conditions for the little boys who labored in small flues:

Many boys were beaten as a matter of routine before being sent up the flue, and beaten again if they failed. When failure was caused by their clothing rucking up, they were stripped naked, beaten and then sent up once more. Boys who could not be terrified by beating were threatened with a return to the parents who had sold them to the sweep; and this was as potent a threat as any. Cuts and lacerations sustained in a boy's first ascent were rubbed with brine beside a hot fire in order to harden the skin. . . .

But, finally the 1875 Act abolished the climbing boys.⁽²⁾

The publication of the Children's Employment Commission in 1842 brought some improvement. The report described how married women worked for twelve or more hours in the mines, then spent half the night trying to keep their sordid little homes. Children as young as four or five were employed in the mines to carry heavy baskets of coal on their backs. Some children were found to have remained in the pits for thirty-six hours at a time, while there were cases of girls of six years old who had to carry half-hundredweights of coal. This startled and shocked into action some of the Victorian consciences. A Mines Bill made it illegal for boys under ten years of age to work in the pits or for women and girls to be employed underground, although the general lot of the miners remained soul-destroying and hopeless, working twelve to fourteen hours a day, and the majority contracting silicosis or tuberculosis and dying before they were forty-five.

(2) E. S. Turner, ROADS TO RUIN, pp.35-36, 58.

Conditions in the factories were no better. At a stocking-weaving factory the whole family could earn 11/4d. in a seven day work week, living on bread and porridge.

The knifegrinders of Sheffield, working continuously in a bent position and inhaling metal dust particles, died in their late twenties or early thirties. Men, women and children in the potteries spent long hours dipping finished pots into fluids containing lead and arsenic. Their hands and clothing were always wet and their skin became softened and sore. Into the wounds the lead and arsenic gradually penetrated and within a few years they became victims of paralysis, epilepsy and tuberculosis or died of poisoning. The lace-making industry of Nottingham employed children of seven or even younger as rummers, their work being to follow the threads in the elaborate patterns of lace, destined to adorn some Victorian drawing room, and withdraw them with a needle. The work was so detailed and fine that after a few years many of the children became incurably blind. The bobbin lacemakers were usually very young girls. They had to sit for hours bent almost double over their cushions, and as they wore stays with wooden busks, their ribs became displaced and they usually died early of consumption.

The makers of neckties contracted to work sixteen hours a day for 4/6d. a week, and shirtmakers, working from four or five in the morning till midnight, received 2/6d. to 3/- a week. Dressmakers worked in similar intolerable conditions, in work-rooms which were ill-lit and cold.(3)

Some, however, had been aroused by these appalling social conditions.

As early as 1843, Thomas Hood, in his "Song of a Shirt" had exposed the evils of the sweating system. A few years later, Charles Kingsley, performed a similar service in his novel, *Alton Locke*, which was published in 1849.

Public interest in the matter, however, was not fully aroused until the report of a Select Committee of the House of Lords was published in 1888. This report exposed the sweating system in all its ugliness.

(3) M. C. Borer, BRITAIN - TWENTIETH CENTURY, P.24.

The public conscience, which was already growing uneasy over the great extremes of poverty and wealth, was profoundly stirred by the report. An Anti-Sweating League was founded, and an agitation began to secure by law a minimum wage and improved conditions of work for workers in domestic industries.

Although the matter was kept constantly in the public mind nothing concrete was done until after the General Election of 1906.(4)

Some nineteenth century legislation was passed to improve some conditions.

An Act of 1802 marked the beginning of factory legislation, and in 1833 the first substantial factory act was passed. This Act limited hours of work for children and set up a national system of inspection. The Act of 1847 set a maximum of ten hours a day on women's as well as children's work; meanwhile the Act of 1844 had introduced the first safety measures. (The scope of all these early acts was limited to certain factories, mainly textile.) The first Workmen's Compensation Act, making the payment of compensation for accidents at work compulsory and an employer's liability, was passed in 1897.

The early factory acts prescribed for employed children a certain minimum number of hours' education each week. Successive Acts increased this minimum until it was no longer necessary in view of the raising of the age limit below which employment was illegal and the introduction of compulsory education.(5)

The housing was especially disgraceful for most of the industrial workers - squalid back-to-back cottages, devoid of even the simplest amenities. In Manchester, Glasgow and Edinburgh the slums were appalling and Engels in THE CONDITIONS OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN ENGLAND IN 1844 wrote:

"... in London fifty thousand persons get up every morning not knowing where to lay their heads at night."

- (4) Milton Briggs and Percy Jordan,
ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, P.695.
- (5) SOCIAL SERVICES IN BRITAIN, P.2.

With the Poor Law of 1834, many more hated and dreaded workhouses were built, the only alternative for the destitute.

The Highland land reform story ought to be mentioned, with all the account of the continuing practice of forced evictions in the Highlands. James Begg in 1845 objected to the feudal state of Scotland whereby all the land was in the hands of only some three thousand persons.⁽⁶⁾ Hugh Miller in 1849 continued to condemn thousands of evictions that year.⁽⁷⁾ About half of Scotland was owned by a few dozen men, and agitation against the existing land laws became widespread in the Highlands, until finally a Royal Commission was appointed in 1883 to study the grievances of the crofters and suggest remedies, which brought about the Crofters' Holdings Act of 1886 giving protection in the lands occupied.

Even government pressure couldn't stop the formation of unions; their increasing strength brought fresh demands for Parliamentary representation. Unions were at least recognized as legal bodies and in 1861 the first Trades Union Congress was held, although the method of collective bargaining supported by strikes was still illegal and punishable by imprisonment.

The Second Parliamentary Reform Bill gave workers in industrial areas the right to vote, irrespective of property qualifications, and in 1875 the trade unions were strengthened by the legal right to strike. Until the 1870's, the iron law of wages prevailed, and any wage regulation was frowned upon. The Church generally held

(6) James Begg, PAUPERISM AND THE POOR LAWS, P.28.

(7) THE WITNESS, September 12, 1849, P.2.

to natural economics - that as the nation prospered, workers would also prosper. Agricultural workers were given the vote in 1834, although voting representation by women was rejected as unwomanly and foolish.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, the validity of 'laissez faire' and economic individualism was largely undoubted. Darwinism and Herbert Spencer's theory of the 'survival of the fittest' seemed to lend support to these economic theories as being the immutable divine law of life. The Tories held to the unqualified rights of private property while the Liberals held to the unqualified rights of free competition.

This was a society of unparalleled prosperity for the wealthier classes and the more aggressive and shrewd, but it was a society of untold misery and hardship for the victims at the bottom of the social pyramid - the unemployed, the ill in health, the aged, the poorly educated, the mentally dull, and hosts of others who could not compete well in the ruthless competition for wealth and power.

This was the self-help age, when thrift and trying to help oneself was a strong prevailing social philosophy. The self-made rugged individualist was idealized.

But there was mounting industrial conflict and class hatred between capital and labor, while the Church largely ignored the growing demand for social and economic justice and sought to soothe discontent by urging reconciliation based on the existing social order. During most of the latter half of the nineteenth century

the Church seldom doubted the automatic workings of the competitive economic system, or that any of the evils which plagued society could be cured by tampering with industry. The Church increasingly ^{became} middle class in composition and in outlook, while the working classes became more and more alienated. The prosperous and powerful middle class was well satisfied with the existing order of society and therefore the Church was also.

There were, of course, the aggressive voluntary actions of the more benevolently minded through cooperative building associations, friendly societies, charity organizations, ragged schools, provident and savings banks, and other means. Society became increasingly aware of the connection between the incidence of epidemics and disease and that of bad sanitary and housing conditions through medical and sanitary reformers, and the first steps were taken by the large cities to improve the basic conditions of health, sanitation and housing.⁽⁸⁾ During the period 1866-1874 seventy per cent of the houses built in Scotland by private enterprise were of one or two rooms, which became the slums of the latter part of the nineteenth century.⁽⁹⁾

The census of 1861, the first to include housing statistics for Scotland, revealed the shocking conditions that over one third of the Scottish people lived in one-roomed houses, and seventy-two per cent of all the houses in Scotland being of only one or two rooms.

(8) Thomas Ferguson, THE DAWN OF SCOTTISH SOCIAL WELFARE AND SCOTTISH SOCIAL WELFARE 1864-1914.

(9) George S. Pryde, SCOTLAND FROM 1603 TO THE PRESENT DAY, pp.255-259.
W. H. Marwick, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN VICTORIAN SCOTLAND, pp.218f.

The overcrowding was unbelievable - with many of these housing six to sixteen persons.

. . . in 1867 Edinburgh's Old Town had one close, with 59 rooms all served by a "a steep, dark stone stair, common to the whole", and occupied by 248 persons belonging to 56 families, although "in this huge congress of dens there is no water, no water-closet, no sink."(10)

In 1888, the Presbytery of Glasgow set up a Commission to study the housing of the poor in Glasgow. After three years of study it presented a two hundred and fifty page report entitled, "Report of the Commission on the Housing of the Poor in Relation to their Social Conditions." Its recommendations were disappointing and it concluded,

So long as the wage standard remains as at present, single-apartment houses are a necessity, as men and women with low wages cannot pay a higher rent than £5 [per year], and the only practical policy is to make the best of things as they are."(11)

No effective remedy could be offered for the worst aspects of the housing problem. The general feeling of the Church seemed to be that the lower classes could help themselves, if they would.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century brought a more prolonged economic slump until about 1896. The London Dock Strike came in 1889. Unemployment became especially critical in the years 1879, 1886 and 1894 with a more critical attitude developing toward the existing social order than during the boom years of the mid-century. A more militant trade unionism evolved, a revival of

(10) George S. Pryde, SCOTLAND FROM 1603 TO THE PRESENT DAY, P.253.

(11) REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE HOUSING OF THE POOR IN RELATION TO THEIR SOCIAL CONDITION, P.8.

socialist thought took place and small socialist movements appeared. By the turn of the century, it was becoming clear that the middle class dominance was soon to be seriously challenged by the working classes. The important Workman's Compensation Act of 1897 made it possible for most workmen to claim compensation from their employers for accidents at work.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, there were some important changes giving rise to social awareness. There was the rapid growth of socialist thought and influence, with its criticism of 'laissez faire' individualism, the iron laws of classical economics and the idea of a divinely ordered social class hierarchy. As we will see in a later chapter, socialism had a profound effect upon large numbers of churchmen; this was a socialism marked by a high moral and ethical tone and was not Marxist or anti-Christian.

It laid bare the worm-eaten condition of the previous conventional Christian ethic, which, at its best, offered something for the ethics of the family and the individual, but which, on the other hand, had no message for social ethics save that of acceptance of all existing institutions and conditions, much to the satisfaction of all in authority.(12)

Another important factor was the inquiry into social conditions and the growing awareness in society of the part played by environmental factors in producing social evils.

"From 1884 onwards, Commissions on Sweated Trades and on Housing. . . examined depths hitherto unplumbed. Investigation was the watchword of the hour, and the results were not consoling."(13)

(12) Ernest Troeltsch, THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, Vol.II, P.728.

(13) G. M. Trevelyan, BRITISH HISTORY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, P.400.

Scientific study of society and the effects of social conditions on persons, made increasingly clear the extent to which men were moulded by their social environment.

Another factor of change which gave rise to increased social awareness was the decline of classical political economy. These dogmas come under attack by the socialists as well as others. Alfred Marshall, a leading orthodox economist, rejected the view that self-interest was the only effective economic motive, insisted that ethical considerations could not be ignored and claimed that extreme poverty was not inevitable but could be removed.

Other factors that increased social concern were the recurring periods of economic depression and mass unemployment, the influence of a more democratic electorate, the rise of a militant and socially-aroused labor movement, as well as new liberalizing theological trends.

2. Education Conditions

a. England

The Church controlled education during the Middle Ages, but gradually there grew the grammar schools, some as day schools and others as boarding schools. Parents had to pay for the education and thus the poor were unable to take advantage of schools since they couldn't afford them and had to send their children out to work as soon as possible. In the eighteenth century a few charity schools were founded, Robert Raikes introduced the three R's into the Sunday schools about 1780,⁽¹⁴⁾ but most people assumed that it would cost far too much to provide all children with an education. Several societies sprang up in the nineteenth century to help build schools and encourage education, but the

"... government played no part in education until the year 1833, when it gave a yearly grant of £10,000"⁽¹⁵⁾

to several of the voluntary societies. Other attempts to obtain government help for education were unsuccessful because the Church of England and the nonconformists could not agree on what kind of religious teaching should be given and the government dared not to offend either. Thus Christians indirectly delayed the coming of education for all. By 1846 the government was giving £100,000 a year to education and this rose to a million pounds in 1857.

(14) Milton Briggs & Percy Jordan, Op. Cit., P.670.

(15) John F. Munby, AN ECONOMIC HISTORY, P.191.

Training colleges and a board of education with a government minister were set up in 1856.

About 1869, there was a Government inquiry which showed that the unsatisfactory private schools of earlier years still existed in large towns:

In a squalid little room 14 feet 4 inches by 8 feet, in a back street, I found, on descending to the basement floor of a small house, 33 children crowded together, of whom 16 were boys. The master is standing in his shirt sleeves near the fire, over which some stew is preparing for dinner. The room is hot and close, and the children move with difficulty, owing to the clumsiness of the household furniture with which it is nearly filled. The master has been here for 30 years. . . . His own knowledge and qualifications are of the humblest kind, and his method of instruction is to hear the lessons of each child one by one, while the rest are 'learning off their spellings'. . . . The scholars are broadly divided into the 'fourpennies' and sixpennies'; the latter, consisting of those who write in copybooks. . . . No other written or memory exercise are given and the children are deplorably inactive and ignorant.(16)

Working class education had grown very slowly. The Factory Act of 1833 had contained provisions for the compulsory education of all factory child workers, but it was never put into operation because the Act provided no funds for the project. Down to 1870, working class education was mostly provided by private individuals and religious bodies, although the State did give some grants after 1833.

A national system of education developed slowly in England since there was little room in a strict 'laissez faire' theory for either State education or social service. Also education

(16) S. J. Curtis, HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN, P.11.

was thought to be a matter for the individual parents and not for the State. Then too there prevailed the upper and middle class feeling that the education of the masses was dangerous to the existing social order. But the greatest obstacle was, of course, the religious issue - the conflict between the Church of England and the nonconformists for the control of the schools.

Finally, other factors transcended the religious issue and the Elementary Education Act of 1870 was passed; essentially it was a compromise. The voluntary or Church schools were retained but they received no aid from rates. Every local authority was obligated to set up a School Board to build schools where needed. Less money, however, was now available to the Church schools than to the new board schools and thus many Church people sent their children to the new schools, even though they didn't teach any denominational doctrines. Another concession to the nonconformists was the 1870 Cowper-Temple clause by which any parent had the right to withdraw a child from periods of religious instruction in a Church school.

The Act of 1870 generally marks the beginning of a national system of education, although compulsory attendance even after 1880 was difficult to enforce and fees were still charged. The 1891 Act made elementary education practically free, but the complete abolition of fees was not achieved until 1918.

"Nothing did more to restrict the nature of education in the elementary schools than the system of Payment by Results. The salary of the teacher was considerably affected by the results achieved by his class and the annual examinations."(17)

(17) M. E. Hutchinson, EDUCATION IN BRITAIN, P.37.

Mundella's Act of 1860 fixed the age of leaving school at thirteen, although children of ten or over who reached a certain standard might attend for only two hours a day, while others who reached a slightly higher standard might leave school altogether. It was until 1891 that a small charge was made in the Board Schools,⁽¹⁸⁾ but from this time on this type of education was mostly free for both boys and girls.⁽¹⁹⁾

The educational outlook thus brightened considerably between 1870 and 1900, and in 1899 the important Board of Education was established.

The State began to take an active part in education in England and Wales in 1870 when the Elementary Education Act provided for the setting up of schools in areas where the voluntary societies, which had been receiving State grants since 1833, had not already established them. By the end of the century, when, in 1899, the Board of Education was created, elementary education had become compulsory and available free of charge to every child.⁽²⁰⁾

By 1900 an adequate number of Board Schools had been built, and in London alone there were four hundred and eighty-one. During these years there grew steadily an increasing interest in education.

- (18) The Board Schools were those set up by the local authorities' School Boards. The British term "Public School" refers actually to private schools in Britain.
- (19) John F. Munby, AN ECONOMIC HISTORY, p.194.
- (20) SOCIAL SERVICES IN BRITAIN, p.2.

b. Scotland

The history of English and Scottish education is markedly different. There was not the wide gulf separating primary and secondary education in Scotland, that existed for so long in England. Also the Scottish people were not so class conscious as the English. The tradition had been more democratic, largely due to the Presbyterian influence, so that the capable student had a greater opportunity. The old Scottish parochial school,

"gave access to instruction to the lowest and the poorest as well as the highest, for the laird's and the ploughman's son, the sons of the carpenter and of the Lord of the Session met together. . . (21)

In the Church of Scotland, there had been a school in every parish since the seventeenth century. (22) Kay-Shuttleworth tells of the tolerant character of the parish school in which members of all religious denominations and of all social classes could come together, and writes at the middle of the nineteenth century:

Thus, sentiment has overleaped the barriers which divide society into classes, to acknowledge the claims of personal feeling, and to lift humble merit from obscurity. (23)

John Knox had proposed a school for every parish or associated with every kirk, and although the plan was never fully carried out, it became a living ideal for the Scottish nation.

- (21) S. J. Curtis, HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN, pp.196-197.
Quoted from H. G. Graham, THE SOCIAL LIFE OF SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, P.433.
- (22) John F. Munby, AN ECONOMIC HISTORY, P.191.
- (23) S. J. Curtis, HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN, P.197.
Quoted from Kay-Shuttleworth, PUBLIC EDUCATION, P.535.

In many parishes where no school-house existed, classes were taught in the kirk or in any barn or stable which happened to be vacant. In others, the school-house was often in a semi-ruinous condition with leaky roof, small windows, often unglazed, and very little in the way of furniture.(24)

There emerged the S. P. C. K. schools, the Ragged Schools with the Reverend Thomas Guthrie, the Parliamentary Schools and the Hospital Schools. Only for a period after the Great Disruption in 1843, when some four hundred and seventy ministers left the Established Church to form the Free Church, was religion a formidable problem in Scottish education. Stipends for teachers were gradually raised and in 1864 the Payment by Results system was partially withdrawn. The Act of 1861 placed the teachers of the parochial schools more under the control of the universities, than of the presbyteries.

The momentous Education (Scotland) Act of 1872, was much more comprehensive than the English Elementary Act of 1870 - the religious basis of education was retained, the Scottish Education Department and representative local School Boards were set up to control all schools (except Roman Catholic and Episcopalian), all children under thirteen were compelled to attend school and more schools were built and enlarged. However, there was still the muddle of various kinds of schools, secondary education was left in chaos and a modified version of Payment by Results was still in operation.

(24) Ibid., pp.212-213.

The Scottish Education Department was reorganized in 1885 with Henry Craik as its secretary. The last traces of Payment by Results were abolished, the curriculum was greatly enriched, by 1893 elementary education was free throughout Scotland for children from three to fifteen, a stronger foundation of finance was built, the Leaving Certificate Examination was instituted in 1888 which did much to alleviate the chaos of secondary education and the Merit Certificate was instituted in 1892 for elementary schools.

3. Welfare Conditions

In the public field, conditions during the middle of the century were especially squalid, with closely packed houses without any water supply and relying on a pump in the rubbish-strewn streets of the mill towns, with sewage often filtering back into the water supply. The people, together with their children, often sought solace in the cheap and plentiful gin. It was a long time before the State or the Church penetrated these streets. With mushroom-like rapidity towns grew and the sanitary conditions were deplorable. The Public Health Act of 1848 set up a Central Board of Health and provided for local Boards of Health. The present sanitary code is based on the Public Health Act of 1875, which consolidated all the sanitary legislation of the previous thirty years. The local authorities must regulate and provide sewers and drains, cleanse streets, highways and ditches, inspect lodging-houses and food, regulate nuisances and offensive trades, provide a water supply and means for the prevention of epidemic diseases.⁽²⁵⁾

"In spite of the efforts of the local government board, conditions in many of our larger cities remained appalling until well into the present century."⁽²⁶⁾

During the last several decades of the nineteenth century, social conditions remained about as degrading and corrupting as ever, although there had been some improvement. The plight of the lowest classes was about as desperate as it had ever been.

(25) Milton Briggs & Percy Jordan, ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, P.689.

(26) M. E. Hutchinson, EDUCATION IN BRITAIN, P.189.

Sidney Webb, after a thorough investigation,

"came to the conclusion that there existed in 1897
'a greater sum, though a smaller proportion, of
hopeless destitution than at any previous time.'"(27)

Some studies at the turn of the century indicated that no less than thirty per cent of the British population, some thirteen million people, were living at or below the poverty line.(28) Almost all of these were evidently suffering from chronic malnutrition and ill health, living in insanitary and overcrowded conditions.

In spite of the advance of medical knowledge, the infant mortality rate for Scotland which was one hundred and twenty-five per thousand in 1855, was still one hundred and twenty-six per thousand in 1915, sixty years later.(29) As late as 1897, this rate had reached the peak of one hundred and thirty-eight per thousand.(30)

There was considerable contrast, of course, between the rates in the middle class areas and the working class districts. Sometimes the infant mortality rate was twice as high in the poorer districts.

- (27) T. Johnston, THE HISTORY OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN SCOTLAND, P.297.
- (28) David Watson, SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND THE CHURCH'S DUTY, P.20. William Mair, OUR CHURCH AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS, P.1.
- (29) T. Johnston, THE HISTORY OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN SCOTLAND, P.297.
- (30) T. Ferguson, SCOTTISH SOCIAL WELFARE 1864-1914, P.536.

Some of the developments in penal methods perhaps ought to be mentioned briefly. The early prison reformers, John Howard and Elizabeth Fry, were mainly concerned with the welfare of those who would shortly face death.⁽³¹⁾ Most prisons still in use today, apart from the open prisons, date back to the large prison building programs during the middle of the nineteenth century.⁽³²⁾ Police forces, crime detection and centralization of the penal system grew. The punitive philosophy was one of complete isolation - with hard labor, hard fare and a hard bed. The Prison Act of 1877 transferred all prisons to the Home Secretary, thus ending some local abuses. Machines such as the treadmill and the crank were used, because of their unproductive and therefore degrading effects. A turning point in the attitude of the State towards the offender came with the Gladstone Committee Report of 1895, which observed that the prisoners were treated too much as worthless and hopeless members of the community and that neither crime nor recidivism had decreased. A penal philosophy of rehabilitation was suggested along with greater differentiation in treatment, the abolition of unproductive labor, more training and education and other modern penal ideas. The Prison Act of 1898 incorporated the recommendations of the Gladstone Committee and marked the beginning of a new era in prisons.

Scotland, of course, retained its own system of law at the union with England in 1707, but the development of thought and

(31) THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS IN BRITAIN, p.3.

(32) Ibid., pp.3-4.

practice on the treatment of offenders followed about the same pattern as in England.

The alcohol problem issue was quite strong at the turn of the century. In one investigation on the Sunday morning of September 19, 1897, between one and three o'clock, two public houses in Newington were observed with the entry of the following persons:

1,511 men
 188 women carrying 34 babies
 158 girls under 13 with jugs or bottles
 125 boys under 13 with jugs or bottles
 132 girls under 13 without jugs or bottles
 98 boys under 13 without jugs or bottles
 2,246 total, of whom 547 were infants and children
 under 13 (33)

The issue of women's rights grew stronger during the last part of the nineteenth century. Those who argued against this equality did so on some of the following grounds:

- (i) That women were physically and mentally inferior to men, always had been and always would be.
- (ii) That women were intuitive creatures, men intellectual creatures, and whilst intuition was pretty and charming it was no match for men's intellectual prowess.
- (iii) That biologically, as childbearers, women had physical disadvantages as compared with men, which made them unreliable in any field of endeavour outside the home.
- (iv) That they were the source of "Original Sin", temptresses one and all, and needed a strong male hand to keep their natural sinfulness in check.
- (v) That they were dear, sweet creatures, compounded of innocence and light, for whom the rough world outside the home was anathema. They needed a strong male arm to lean on, and God and nature alike had rightly provided for this.

- (vi) That their job was to acquire such smatterings of accomplishments, in a strictly amateur way, as would make them attractive in the marriage market. It was for marriage alone that woman was created. If she failed to get a husband, she was a pitiable creature who had failed her apprenticeship examinations.
- (vii) It was only those women who were so unattractive, so self-willed, so masculine that no man would spare them a glance who went in for this "women's rights" business. They were motivated by their deep desire to revenge themselves for being condemned to spinsterhood, and so they stirred up happily married women to demand their rights, although these idyllically contented creatures had had no idea that they lacked rights before the trouble-makers pointed it out to them.(34)

The fact that many of these assertions were self contradictory and contradicted each other was no deterrent for prejudice.

The Society for Promoting the Employment of Women came into being and gradually more and more opportunities became available.

Queen Victoria looked down on the wicked folly of women's rights, but slowly the movement gathered strength and the Married Women's Property Act gave her at least the right to her own money. But women's suffrage was not to be won until well into the twentieth century.

(34) Martin Ramelson, THE PETTICOAT REBELLION, P.16.

C. PRIOR TO WORLD WAR I

1. Economic Issues

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Great Britain ruled a vast Empire. The 'Great White Queen across the waters', was the symbol of British solidarity and allegiance; the emotional force linking the widely differing races who were part of the Empire. Britain had become the greatest industrial and manufacturing country in the world, with a population of more than thirty-two million. Half the world was in British hands, yielding bountifully in food and raw materials. Food was deliberately imported from the Empire because it was more practical and cheap. Many farm laborers joined the ranks of factory workers, to help meet the universal demand for manufactured goods from Britain. The London docks were already the largest in the world, but they had to be rebuilt for they were too small to accommodate the vast flow of trade. This was Britain at the beginning of the century - busy, powerful, wealthy, the hub of the great Empire and the workshop of the world. Her Unionist government led by Lord Salisbury, of Conservatives supported by Liberal Unionists, was following a general policy of isolationism. Britain did not need foreign alliances for she was supreme and impregnable; with her mighty navy, she was safer than any country in Europe.

But the ramifications of the Industrial Revolution had come too quickly for the people to assimilate. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Britain was still a class-conscious country,

sharply divided by birth, wealth and education. At the top of the social pyramid were the nobility and great landowners, since the ownership of land on a large scale was the highest social distinction. Some ten per cent of the population were domestic servants to this class. Below the nobility were the rich upper classes, composed of the lesser landowners, squires and some of the professions. They were trained to think benevolently upon the lower classes. The core of the middle classes were the merchants, the less socially acceptable professions and lower-grade civil servants. The lower classes included the artisans, factory workers, miners, industrial workers, fishermen, farm hands, dockers, seamstresses, domestic servants, shop assistants and a large number of casual laborers and vagrants. Their working hours were incredibly long for starvation wages; they had little or no education and they were appallingly housed. There was no unemployment pay, little medical attention and no pensions for old age. Most of the people evidently accepted the state of the poor unquestioningly, believing that the existing social structure was the plan of an all-wise God, whose ways should not be questioned. Wealth was a divine right and poverty a burden to be borne, realizing that things would be better in the next world. One of the hymns had a verse:

The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at his gate,
God made them high and lowly,
And ordered their estate.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the basic social problem of the previous century remained unsolved - mass poverty in the midst of the wealthiest society in the world.

In 1901, over twenty-six per cent of Glasgow families still lived in one room, while another forty-four per cent lived in two-roomed houses. By 1911 in Scotland, fifty per cent still lived in one or two roomed houses. The Town Planning Act of 1909 was a landmark in the history of housing; local authorities were to control building to be purchased from private enterprise. However, the housing shortage increased, there was the total cessation of house building between 1914 and 1919 and the problem was envisaged as being beyond private enterprise.

Living and working conditions in some industries were especially degrading.

The overall picture was a consistent one of unappetizing food, monotonous and badly served, bad sleeping accommodation, with often five beds in a room, and a cheerless sitting-room, like a waiting-room at a railway station. Assistants worked seventy hours a week and at the end of the day were usually too tired for anything but bed. One report, which told that "washing accommodation was inadequate, food badly cooked, table service not clean, men's sitting room, three chairs and a broken table for the use of twenty men," also stated that "every apprentice is required to attend a place of worship at least once on a Sunday."(35)

Another scandal that persisted well into the thirties was the pay for the women workers, especially in the tailoring and dressmaking businesses, but also in many of the hand work trades.

They worked in their homes, collecting the work from the factories and business houses and returning it when finished. Neither their hours of work nor their rates of pay could be supervised, and they were shamefully exploited. By working fifteen or sixteen hours a day the best and quickest of them might earn ten shillings a week. . . .

(35) M. C. Borer, BRITAIN - TWENTIETH CENTURY, p.75.

The long monotonous hours, the drudgery and hopelessness of it all dulled them into apathy. "Can you suggest anything that anybody could do for you which would induce your master or perhaps compel him to give you a fairer or a larger wage?" one woman was asked. "If he would only time an article," she replied, "and state how long the article would take to make, and give you a certain rate of so much an hour, it would be fair, if it was only a living wage. We only want to live."

They only wanted to live! That is what so many people forgot. They did not want charity. Large, organized charities certainly existed. They were a feature of Victorian and Edwardian times. But charities are little more than a sign of indifference to the fundamental problem, an effortless palliative to quieten the stirrings of conscience. The brief moment of compassion passes and is usually forgotten as quickly as the cause which aroused it.(36)

In 1906 the average earnings for women of the laboring class were about 15/5d. a week and about £1 for men. There was hard drinking, when they could get the money for it. These laboring classes hardly ever went to church, which was considered more for the wealthy, although they sent their children to Sunday School. There was a slight improvement in some working hours and wages from the bitter past, but the situation was still deplorable. Real wages actually averaged ten per cent less in 1913 than in 1896.(37)

The many studies and investigations at the turn of the century had shown many revelations about poverty.

Booth showed that 30 per cent of the population of London were living in permanent conditions of abject poverty, and that 40 per cent, of the working population over sixty-five years of age were in receipt of Poor Law relief some part of the year.

(36) Ibid., pp.76-78.

(37) Milton Briggs & Percy Jordan, ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, P.527.

Some years later Rowntree published the results of a similar investigation in York in which he found 28 per cent of the inhabitants below the minimum standard of a decent life.

These revelations of social canker in the richest country in the world stirred the public conscience, and were not without effect on the ruling classes.

Again, between 1867 and 1900, large sections of the working classes gained the franchise. The working population could no longer be ignored by the Government.(38)

The 1905 Poor Law Commission studied pauperism and concluded,

"The main cause of pauperism was not idleness or disease or drink or ill-health, not trade depression or new machinery, but casual employment."(39)

"The remedial treatment of unemployment in this country sprang essentially from laborious discovery of facts and making them so plain that action followed from the aroused conscience of the nation."(40)

This Royal Commission of 1905-9 had the task of shedding Poor Law administration of all functions that could be performed better by other institutions, and to ensure that no stigma be attached to public relief. They analyzed the causes of poverty comprehensively and recommended that childrens' problems would be transferred to education authorities, health problems to health authorities and that unemployment should be under a special labor authority. They also recommended a more thorough classification of all persons who came under the Poor Law. The minority wished to abolish the Poor Law altogether, while the majority wanted to retain the Poor Law for those that could not be suitably relieved in other ways but proposed drastic changes in administration; each council should

(38) Ibid., P.398.

(39) William H. Beveridge, PLANNING UNDER SOCIALISM, P.71.

(40) Ibid., P.72.

appoint a Public Assistance Committee. The Government accepted the majority report but conflicts and the war prevented it from being implemented until 1929.

Socialism was beginning to make its plea for the workers, the submerged four-fifths of the population. The novels of H. G. Wells and Arnold Bennett were uncovering more social evils, and the leaders of the trade unions were becoming stronger. The general attitude seemed to be that the poor were unfortunate, but they were lazy and didn't know how to spend their money well anyway. But it was becoming increasingly apparent to the working classes and to the more socially enlightened people that the nineteenth century economic and social theories could not secure for the great masses a living wage, steady employment or tolerable conditions of life.

In 1884 the Fabian Society had come into existence led by Beatrice and Sidney Webb, with its own brand of socialism and converting more and more leaders of the trade unions to Socialism. The Independent Labour Party was a union of Socialists and trade union leaders. The influence of Fabianism on the development of social organization in Britain has been enormous.

British socialism of the late nineteenth century had two main strands which gradually became closely connected. The first strand was the socialism of Keir Hardie and the Independent Labour Party. The second strand was the Fabian Society. Speaking broadly, the Independent Labour Party supplied the rank and file of the movement; the Fabian Society supplied the brains and the policy. The great achievement of Keir Hardie and his party was to detach trade unionism from liberalism; that of the Fabians was to create modern British socialism.

The Fabian Society, which was formed in 1883, owed much in the early years of its existence to a small group of intellectuals, especially George Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, Annie Besant, and above all Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb. These people were middle-class intellectuals and were neither revolutionaries nor Marxists. They did not believe that full-blooded socialism could be or should be brought about by sudden and violent revolution; on the other hand they held that complete socialism was an ideal for the distant future to be reached by a gradual process of evolution.(41)

Joseph Chamberlain's policy of tariff reform roused another storm, when people remembered the sufferings caused by the Corn Laws and the high price of bread during years of unemployment. At the 1905 General Election the Liberals were returned to power with a large majority. It was in this Election that the Independent Labour Party, which had been founded in 1893 and had won East Ham for Keir Hardie, the first Labour Member of Parliament, now entered the political arena with twenty-nine candidates being returned to the Commons.

The trade union movement steadily increased during this pre-war period, as did also the parallel combination movement in British industry. In the Taff Vale Case, a union had been sued, and the important Trade Disputes Act of 1906 ruled that trade unions could not again be sued and that peaceful picketing and collective bargaining were legal. The 1913 Trade Union Act allowed for more political activity by the unions. The Coal Mines Act of 1908 marked the first time that the law controlled directly the hours of labor of adult men. Boards of Arbitration were instituted by the

(41) Milton Briggs & Percy Jordan, ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, pp.440-441.

Coal Mines Act of 1912, as well as other laws formulated to bring increased safety. Railways and mines were the greatest centers of labor unrest and strikes during this pre-war period. Seeds of bitterness in industrial relations were sown which were to bear unwelcomed fruit during the inter-war period.

Between 1906 and 1914, many important social reforms were carried through by the Liberal government, with pressure from the Socialists who demanded the end of sweated labor and pleaded for more humane working hours and better working conditions. The foundations were laid during this period for the modern welfare state.

The Factory Act fixed the number of hours that a worker could be employed. The first Trade Board Act of 1909 came largely through the efforts of Winston Churchill and fixed a legal minimum wage for factory workers, and in 1912 a legal minimum wage for coal-miners was fixed. The first Old Age Pension was enacted in 1909, and in 1911 the highly controversial National Insurance Act came, whereby one could obtain free medical service and insure against loss of wages during sickness or unemployment. It was during these years that the Workmen's Compensation Act and the Sweated Industries Act were passed. Labour Exchanges were set up and the Unemployment Insurance Scheme came into operation in 1912. However, conditions were still far too grim amongst the poor, evasion of the law far too frequent and the number of inspectors too inadequate for the amelioration of conditions during the span of a few years.

In his book THE CONDITION OF ENGLAND, C. F. G. Masterman wrote in 1909 of Britain's laboring people:

They work in unventilated rooms. They are stinted of holidays. They are compelled to work overtime. They are fined and cheated in innumerable ways. Their life is often confined to a mere routine of work and sleep. Yet they endure; and even at the heart of foul and impossible conditions retain always some rags of decency and honour.(42)

Rural life had been disrupted with the decline of farming and the importation of cheap food. Prices collapsed and many farmers were ruined. Thousands of farmers left the land, although the dairy farming continued. Prices improved some during the Boer War and toward 1914, but agriculture was generally regarded as a depressed industry.

The Titanic struck an iceberg on the night of April 14, 1912 and sank with the loss of some one thousand five hundred lives. The Mersey Report which followed this disaster led to more stringent regulations at sea.

Changes were slowly coming and the government was becoming more and more sympathetic to the demands of labor. There was a growing understanding that charity, however well organized, was actually aggravating some of the problems. The solution was to give people higher wages and more security, so they could become responsible citizens. But instead of more social progress, Britain was suddenly plunged into the First World War and the wheels of social progress went into reverse.

(42) Quoted by M. E. Borer, P.74.

2. Education Issues

a. England

During the opening years of Edward VII's reign, the Conservative government was led by Arthur Balfour. One of the first acts of the new government was the Education Act of 1902, whereby the control of the elementary and secondary schools passed from the old School Board to the County Councils. Many more secondary schools thus came into existence, as well as technical schools and training colleges for teachers. The Church voluntary schools also came under the councils, supported by the rates. The Liberals, many of whom were Nonconformists, bitterly resented this concession to the Church of England schools. Many Nonconformists became passive resisters and refused to pay rates.

Few topics more steadily held national interest in Great Britain at the opening of the twentieth century than the religious issue in State schools. Should schools under the control of churches receive financial aid from public sources? Should religious instruction be included in the daily timetable of schools? Well-known men from all walks of life entered into heated discussion - aristocrats, statesmen, members of parliament, civil servants, scholars, literary figures, journalists, educators, clergymen, industrialists, trade unionists, socialists. The immense literature on the subject bears witness to the intensity of the debate. Newspapers and periodicals carried frequent editorials and articles. The printing presses poured forth a never-ending stream of pamphlets and books. The public forum - demonstrations, parades, meetings, legislative deliberations - yielded a plethora of addresses and speeches. For the people on the British Isles the controversy provoked an emotional excitement not unlike that generated in France by the contemporaneous Dreyfus affair. The strife produced court trials,

prison sentences, distraint of property, election issues, exchanges between opposing church leaders, and negotiations in political circles. The nation was in deadly earnest over the adage that he who molds the child holds the man.(43)

Other Education Acts were passed in 1904, 1906, 1907 and 1908 which had further bearing on this controversy. It could, of course, be argued that this was more of a religious issue than a social issue. However, this study will treat it as partly a social issue, since the whole process of education was largely affected and it became an issue of national concern.

The Morant administration gave a new statement of educational policy in 1904 which set the tone in its preface.

The purpose of the public elementary school is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both girls and boys, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life.(44)

For the following forty years this statement was to be a guide in education. Training was to become more suited to the working classes, rather than only to the middle or upper classes. Only exceptional children were to be prepared for secondary education. The dreary formula of Payment by Results was largely offset. But there still lurked the problems of distinction between elementary and secondary schools, the distinction between elementary and secondary teachers and the problems of inspection and recruitment of inspectors; upon all of these national opinion was split from top

(43) Benjamin Sacks, THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE IN THE STATE SCHOOLS OF ENGLAND AND WALES 1902-1914, P.v.

(44) E. J. R. Eaglesham, THE FOUNDATION OF TWENTIETH CENTURY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND, P.53.

to bottom.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The question over the quality and efficiency of the local inspectors came to a head in 1911 over the Holmes circular.

The Provision of Meals Act came in 1906 and in 1907 Town and County Councils were given the power to have school children medically examined.

"By 1912 there were a hundred clinics in the country; twenty-five years later there were two thousand."⁽⁴⁶⁾

It was found that a large proportion of children were suffering from malnutrition and physical defects.

A horrifying amount of disease and disability was thereupon discovered; defective teeth, eye-sight and hearing, diseased tonsils and adenoids, deformities due to rickets or infantile paralysis, and (whether we like it or not) parasitic conditions like ring-worm and scabies, and infestation with vermin, chiefly lice. The Medical Officer and School Nurse did much to educate parents, and the school dentist and school oculist did valuable work; slowly, very slowly, things grew better. And in 1918 the Medical Inspection scheme was extended to Secondary Schools.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Some of the working classes were delighted with their children receiving some education, while others still thought it was a waste of time. The early elementary teachers commonly had to struggle with classes of fifty or sixty young children, poorly clad and often hungry. Very gradually educational conditions improved, only to face more set-backs during the war.

(45) Ibid., P.97.

(46) M. E. Hutchinson, EDUCATION IN BRITAIN, P.37.

(47) J. Howard Brown, SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND, P.62.

b. Scotland

The developments in education were markedly different in Scotland. The 1901 Act raised the school-leaving age to fourteen and recognized a break at twelve between primary and post-primary education. The Merit Certificate marked the division, and in 1903 a qualifying examination was substituted. There was thus a certain element of gradation in the educational system. Improvements were made in the training and certification of teachers. John Struthers, who followed Henry Craik, accentuated controversial separation between primary and post-primary education. Scottish tradition had considered the parish schools as supplying secondary education, but Struthers saw that these schools didn't have the buildings, staff or equipment for the task. He maintained that greater efficiency could be obtained if secondary education were restricted to certain well-equipped schools. This reorganization was strenuously opposed by some.

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1908 was the first Scottish Act to recognize essential unity in educational agencies.

"It enlarged the functions of education till they included practically everything connected with the well-being of the child physically and morally as well as intellectually." (48)

One survey of school children in Edinburgh in 1903 had showed that about seventy per cent of the children were suffering from some kind of mental or physical defects. (49)

(48) Alexander Morgan, RISE AND PROGRESS OF SCOTTISH EDUCATION, P.184.

(49) A. M. MacKenzie, SCOTLAND IN MODERN TIMES 1720-1939, P.193.

This Act gave the School Boards wide powers, provided for medical examinations of children and provided for the education of physically or mentally defective children. The 1904 report of the Physical Deterioration Committee had stirred up public opinion and some schools were already experimenting with medical inspection. School Boards could compel the attendance of children between the ages of five and fourteen, and were also empowered to establish compulsory continuation classes for those up to seventeen.

The next advance came in 1918 when the country, instead of the parish, became the educational administration unit. This meant that for the first time secondary education was put on a satisfactory basis.

3. Welfare Issues

At the beginning of the twentieth century, business was booming and there was little to worry about. There was the coronation of King Edward VII, Florence Nightingale had greatly reduced the death rate in surgical wards from the appalling rate of two in every three patients, and business was comfortable with a plentiful supply of workers to keep the wheels turning. The people were still sharply divided; the life of the upper and middle classes was extremely good, but the lower class situation had not changed much from Victorian times.

Intelligent middle-class women were becoming increasingly indignant at the Government's refusal to give them the vote. Emmeline Pankhurst and her friends founded the Women's Social and Political Union, seeking to try peaceful means of persuasion. The Suffragettes, as they were called by the press, furthered their claims at political meetings, organized processions to London, chained themselves to the railings of the Houses of Parliament and were sent at times to prison. The opposition to the Suffragettes was bitter, illogical and adamant. During the Edwardian years their campaigns grew in intensity, but they achieved little other than sympathy from some and more resolute opposition from others. One of the most tragic events of the campaign of the Suffragettes occurred in 1913 when Emily Davidson threw herself in front of the King's horse at the Derby and was killed.

The Royal Commission of 1912 (Gorell Commission) favored broadening the grounds for divorce to include willful desertion, cruelty, incurable insanity, habitual drunkenness and imprisonment under a commuted death sentence; but many wished to keep adultery as the only ground for divorce. The publication in 1912 of T. A. Lacey's important book, MARRIAGE IN CHURCH AND STATE insisted on the right of the State to legislate more liberally.

During this period alcohol problems were studied, books written and bills passed, as the Licensing Bill of 1904. The public was aroused over these emotional and debatable issues of drunkenness, licensing procedures and related problems.

The employment of children issue was growing stronger during this period as can be seen in BABY TOILERS, written in 1907 by Olive Malvery. In 1908, the Children's Act set up special juvenile courts, made ill-treatment of children a serious offense and forbade the sale of tobacco to children. This children's charter made it illegal for a child under fourteen to enter a bar.

"This Act put an end to the spectacle of drunken parents brawling in the public houses late at night with babies in their arms - a spectacle that inspired G. R. Sims to write a sensational series of articles in THE TRIBUNE, 'The Cry of the Children.'"(50)

Betting was another issue that came to the public attention.

B. Seebohm Rowntree edited a report on betting and gambling in 1902 and J. M. Hogge wrote THE FACTS OF GAMBLING in 1907.

(50) E. S. Turner, ROADS TO RUIN, P.201.

The infant mortality issue gave rise to several studies and books, as George Newman's INFANT MORTALITY in 1906. Others were concerned about the declining birth rate, as A. Newsholme's book THE DECLINING BIRTH-RATE published in 1911. The Mental Deficiency Act was passed in 1913. During this period, maternity and child welfare, and anti-tuberculosis work were added to the public health services. The shocking Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration of 1904 was a study of the military authorities high rate of rejection on medical and physical grounds.

D. WORLD WAR I TO WORLD WAR II

1. Economic Issues

The war generally aggravated social problems and created new ones. But it certainly was also responsible for a great development in the socialist tendencies of Government control. The income tax in 1915 was raised to unprecedented figures, railways and mines were taken over by the State and there was increasing State control of farming. Then on 11th November 1918 the war ended and the lights started to flicker on again across Europe.

The world was now to be made safe for democracy; the Peace of Versailles and the League of Nations were the symbols of peace. But the world prestige and power had drifted from Britain, leaving her in economic plight. Employing classes tried to get wages back on a supply and demand basis, but Trade Unions refused to accept less pay for their workers. Railways and mines were again the chief storm centers. Britain could not compete well in the trade markets of the world; jobs became more and more scarce and many men returning from the war could find no work at all. There were more than two and a half million unemployed in Britain by July 1921. The situation improved during the next few years, but then in 1930 it sharply grew with well over two million unemployed again. The queues for work and for the dole grew steadily longer. Some joined the services again, others emigrated, while for years more than a million managed to eke out an existence of the dole. Cheap food was again imported, bringing disaster to the farmers.

Much of the older social aristocracy had collapsed under the economic pressures of taxes and prices, while lower social groups had risen markedly. This dramatic shift in the balance of power in society was evident in the growing influence of the trade unions and in the rapid success of the Labour Party. By 1924 Britain had its first Labour Government with a Scot, Ramsay MacDonald, as Prime Minister. Less than a year later, Labour was defeated and the Conservatives returned to power with Stanley Baldwin again as the Prime Minister. Some felt that if wages could be reduced, more could be employed. A Royal Commission was set up to inquire into conditions in the coal mining industry, which found that the mine owners were receiving too much profit, the miners were being paid too highly, and that it was on the verge of bankruptcy; it recommended nationalization. The government recommended a thirteen and a half per cent cut in wages and longer working hours, whereupon the Trades Union Congress threatened strike action. The government stood firm and the unsuccessful General Strike began on 3rd May 1926, involving nearly four million men. It was pronounced illegal and called off nine days later, but unemployment figures rose and queues for the dole grew longer. The Trade Union Act of 1927 (repealed in 1945) imposed drastic limitations on trade unionism and aroused bitterness without precedent in trade union circles.

The background of the 1920's was one of increasing economic difficulties and tragic unemployment. The lower classes, of course, felt most the deepening depression and the blight of unemployment.

Many more of the rich were now largely impoverished by taxes and had to abandon their mansions.

After the Armistice of 1918, the housing problems had become too vast for private enterprise to cope with it. In 1919, the responsibility of housing the working classes was given to the local authorities, who were allowed to levy a rate for that purpose. The Government assisted the local authorities with generous housing subsidies. Between 1919 and 1923 a large number of houses were built, but with a crushing burden to the tax and rate payers. The bills were then amended so as to limit losses and to stimulate private building. Between 1929 and 1939 house-building increased in momentum yearly. In 1930 and 1935 it was even possible to pass acts to promote slum clearance. But in 1931, fifty-five point four per cent of the people in Glasgow and fifty-six point two per cent of the people in Dundee still lived in one and two room houses, while the national figure was forty-four per cent.⁽⁵¹⁾ According to the Housing Act of 1935,

"overcrowding in Scotland in the middle thirties was more than six times as bad as it was in England."⁽⁵²⁾

During the war the nation saw the danger of relying almost entirely on foreign food imports. Under the Corn Production Act of 1917, the farmer received guaranteed prices. Although this part of the Act was repealed in 1924, the principle had far-reaching implications in later demands for agriculture protection. The Agricultural Marketing Acts of 1931 and 1933 were passed,

(51) G. S. Pryde, SCOTLAND FROM 1603 TO THE PRESENT DAY, P.302.

(52) A. M. MacKenzie, SCOTLAND IN MODERN TIMES 1720-1939, P.379.

establishing Marketing Boards to regulate selling prices and distribution of products.

In 1918, a new Trade Boards Act was passed, extending the principle to a large number of trades - in order to prevent sweating and unfair competition. By 1922 Trade Boards covered some twenty-nine trades and the worst evils of sweating were being eliminated, although it was still a problem well into the 1930's.

The Whitley Committee's reports of 1916-1918 identified and recommended what are still some of the main principles of industrial relations in Britain. Another landmark came in the 1925 Contributory Pensions Act for persons who had reached the age of sixty-five, subsequently lowered to sixty years for women. There was also the Blanesburgh Report and the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1927. Other acts passed during this period had to do with coal mines, railroads and labor relations. In 1929 a comprehensive Local Government Act was passed which included a reorganization of the Poor Law system. But this was not a final settlement; the minority report by the Webbs led eventually to the National Assistance Act of 1948.

In the General Election of 1929, Labour was returned and Ramsay MacDonald became Prime Minister, with his promise to nationalize coal, transport, power industries and life insurance, and also to increase the taxation of the rich. But the depression was deepening and markets were increasingly threatened. The world slump came, the MacDonald government resigned and an emergency National government was formed authorizing devaluation of the pound.

At the beginning of the 1930's, the government faced the financial crisis, the shaken value of British sterling, the international trade problem and rapidly rising government expenditure largely due to unemployment benefits. Drastic economies were the only hope as everyone was urged to economize and wages were reduced. Unemployment figures rose during the early 1930's to nearly three million, while unemployment payments fell. Some of the working class would rather have starved than to submit to the inquisition of the Poor Law. In the depressed areas of Britain people were literally dying of starvation, with such a large deficiency of proteins in their diet. Some would rouse themselves from their bewildering despair and organize protest marches to London, like the Jarrow Crusade, but the Government could conceive of no plan to help them.

Unemployment was the chief social problem of this inter-war period. It was the year of 1931 that witnessed the start of the most serious depression. The unemployment rate of Scotland increased from an already high eleven point four per cent in 1927-1929 to twenty-six point two per cent 1931-1933, with the corresponding figures for Great Britain as a whole being ten point one per cent and twenty point three per cent. In some towns, more than half of the total population was unemployed. The situation was serious in some places until the war broke out. Three months after the war had begun, Scotland still had ten point six per cent of her insured workers unemployed.

William H. Beveridge's book, CAUSES AND CURES OF UNEMPLOYMENT, was published in 1931. The Unemployment Act of 1934 set up a Statutory Committee with Beveridge came out in 1934, in which he stated:

The practical economic problem, in general terms, is that of using the means of production - labour, land and capital - by division of functions to secure the maximum of welfare. . . . Broadly speaking, we have the choice between two types of governor for this purpose: between the pricing process under capitalism and orders from a planning centre under socialism.(53)

He went on to discuss the disadvantages of capitalism and the advantages of socialism.

The whole question of working conditions in factories again came under review, and the Factory Act of 1937 was passed to raise the health, safety and welfare standards. Other important legislation during this inter-war period included the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920, the Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act of 1925 and the Unemployment Act of 1934 which set up the Unemployment Assistance Board (later to become National Assistance Board). Another problem that was being recognized was the incentive problem in work, connected to the piece rate issue.

J. M. Keynes' book, GENERAL THEORY OF EMPLOYMENT, INTEREST AND MONEY, came out in 1936.

Even before World War I, the idea was emerging that the social services should not be regarded as a charity but as a right of

(53) William H. Beveridge, PLANNING UNDER SOCIALISM, pp.4-5.

citizens of a civilized state, on par with defense, justice, education, law and order. One of the best early examples of this is to be seen in the famous Minority Report of the Poor Law Commissioners drawn up by socialists Sidney and Beatrice Webb and published in 1909. The foundations of the modern welfare state had been laid early with the introduction of old age pensions in 1908, national insurance in 1911 and the first drafts of medical service. Now the Second World War was to be another liberalizing factor.

2. Education Issues

a. England

There was still a marked difference between the education of different social classes, and there was generally still the separation of boys and girls. One problem of the present century was to get rid of the inequalities in education. The very factors of economics necessitated the development of a more skilled, disciplined and educated working class. Educational reforms were held up by World War I, but then the Fisher Education Act of 1918 abolished part time schooling, raised the leaving age to fourteen with power to extend it to fifteen, established scholarships from school to university, provided for nursery schools for those between two and five, and for Continuation Schools for those between fourteen and eighteen, abolished fees for public elementary education, obliged all education authorities to establish secondary schools and stated that no child under twelve could be employed. Unfortunately, a depression began in 1921 and the cry for economy was heard everywhere which led to the postponement of the operation of much of this Act. Some of the legislation was permissive instead of mandatory, however, and thus Geddes Axe cannot be blamed entirely.

R. H. Tawney's book, SECONDARY EDUCATION FOR ALL, came out in 1924. This view had been gaining support after the war and the Hadow Report of 1926 suggested a complete break for children after eleven, and special schools for older children until they were fifteen.

Technical high schools were recommended in addition to the secondary schools. This report, entitled THE EDUCATION OF THE ADOLESCENT, proposed the classification of all elementary schools into infant, junior and senior schools. It emphasized that all children are not suited for the same kind of education, and that each child should receive the kind of education to which he was naturally suited. It argued that the practice of keeping the more backward children at the bottom had harmful psychological results. Incidentally, the raising of the school-leaving age had become a burning question, as the trade unions had come to regard it as a means to ease the burden of unemployment. The number of secondary schools increased slowly during the thirties and the leaving age of fifteen would have come into force in September of 1939, if it were not for the outbreak of the war.

The religious issue still remained. With the cost of education steadily rising churches could not hope to meet these costs themselves; hence,

"the proportion met from grants grew bigger, until in most cases virtually the whole running cost of the school was met from public funds."(54)

(54) A. C. C. Peterson, A HUNDRED YEARS OF EDUCATION, P.40.

b. Scotland

During the war years, education proceeded under great difficulties, being understaffed by mostly women teachers. As in England, an Education Act followed the First World War - the Education (Scotland) Act of 1918. The parish was far too small a unit for educational administration, but the Scottish tradition was too strong, and ad hoc authorities were substituted for the County Councils. The Act created a partnership between the central and local authorities; some nine hundred and forty-seven School Boards gave place to elected education authorities. Each local authority was given the duty of submitting schemes for the constitution of school management committees for managing schools. The Act enunciated the principle of equal education, supported primary, intermediate and secondary education, instituted a scale of salaries for teachers, permitted nursery schools for children between two and five, raised the school-leaving age to fifteen, with continuation classes until sixteen and eventually up to eighteen, restricted the employment of children under thirteen, permitted voluntary or denominational schools to be transferred to the local education authority and established an Advisory Council and Local Advisory Councils. The Act was, however, resented by many who believed in the tradition of the parish school providing both elementary and secondary education. The Scottish Act of 1918 suffered Geddes Axe⁽⁵⁵⁾ and the raising of the school-leaving age together with the institution of compulsory continuation classes were not carried into effect.

(55) These were needed measures of economizing in government.

In 1921, Struthers made many more drastic reforms - examinations were abolished and primary and secondary schools were recognized as being the two types of schools. Further developments in the training of teachers was made in 1920. After the period of financial stringency, local authorities began to experiment with various types of post-primary organization.

The Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1929 transferred the function of the ad hoc education authorities to the county councils of the counties and the town councils of the burghs of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen.

Parliament also passed the Education (Scotland) Act of 1936, extending the school-leaving age to fifteen and applying the term "Secondary" to all forms of post-primary education. The outbreak of the World War II made this Act inoperative.

3. Welfare Issues

During the inter-war period the health and general well-being of the low income groups still reflected the poor state of their environment and their continuing poverty:

It was estimated, towards the end of the 'thirties, that something like half of the population of Scotland were in what could not be described as good health: and in Glasgow seven school-children in eight were in need of some kind of medical attention.(56)

There continued to be a marked difference between the condition of people in middle class districts and those in poorer districts. The shocking extent of the contrast is reflected in the infant mortality figures for 1930, of poorer and wealthier districts:

Glasgow: Calton 161, Cathcart 37;
Dundee: Hawkhill and Blackness 127, Broughty Ferry 65;
Edinburgh: St. Giles 111, Colinton 12.(57)

It is evident that conditions of living among the lower income groups was still highly deplorable.

Among the most important advances of this period were the Children and Young Persons Act of 1933 and the Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act of 1937. These Acts imposed considerable restrictions on the employment of children under school-leaving age. They made provision for children and young persons in need of care or protection, dealt with the prevention of cruelty to children, made it an offence to give intoxicating liquor to children under five or to allow children under fourteen to be in bars and brought about many improvements in the running of the juvenile courts.

(56) A. M. MacKenzie, SCOTLAND IN MODERN TIMES, 1720-1939, P.379.

(57) LIFE AND WORK MAGAZINE, September 1930, P.386.

For children seventeen and older who were persistent offenders, the first Borstal institution had been established in 1902. More of these were built, but the prisons generally remained grim, overcrowded, hopeless, soul-destroying places, mostly unchanged from early Victorian times.

Under the Legitimacy Act, 1926, as amended by the Legitimacy Act, 1959, a child could be made legitimate by the marriage of its parents to each other after its birth. In Scotland, under common law, an illegitimate child could be legitimate by the subsequent marriage of the parents, provided they were free to marry at the time the child was conceived. Legal provision for adoption was first made in England in 1926, and in Scotland in 1930. The main Acts relating to guardianship during this period are the Guardianship of Infants Act of 1925 and the Illegitimate Children (Scotland) Act of 1930. The act which became the basis of the law controlling juvenile drinking was the so-called 'Lady Astor's Bill' of 1923, which made it illegal to serve any kind of intoxicating liquor to those under eighteen.

In 1916 the National Birth-rate Commission presented its first report - dealing with the moral and religious aspects of birth control and reported on its investigation. In 1920 it presented its second report of some four hundred and fifty pages which had a large circulation. In 1921 a special committee was appointed on 'The Prevention of Venereal Disease.' 'Youth and the Race' was the third report which included birth control. During this period there was a marked decline in family size, intensified by the economic

depression of the 1930's. During the comparatively short periods of population growth, following the World Wars some were concerned about 'population explosion.'

In the betting and gambling area, there was a select committee in 1923, a Royal Commission in 1932-1933, and the controversial Race-course Betting Control Board. There had been a growth of betting during the post-war period, and the Betting and Lotteries Act of 1934 placed restrictions on the facilities for organized gambling.

There was a considerable amount of study, reports, finance acts and several licensing acts related to alcohol problems during this inter-war period. The 1921 Licensing Act containing various provisions affecting liquor licenses and set up the State Management Scheme. There were Royal Commissions on Licensing in both England and Scotland during 1929-1931. The Licensing Act of 1934 contained modifications in the Licensing Act of 1921.

There was some development in the health services and hospital service was improved, though many of the hospitals were old and there was little money for rebuilding. However, no legislation of outstanding importance was passed between the two wars on public health.

The war had hastened some social developments, which were already beginning to appear before 1914. Women finally were allowed to vote and the Sex Disqualification Act of 1919 gave them access to a wide range of new posts. They won the complete franchise in 1928, when they could vote at the age of twenty-one, ten years after it had been given to women over thirty.

In 1937 the Matrimonial Causes Act (Herbert Act), desertion, cruelty and incurable insanity became additional grounds for divorce. Fewer and fewer people concerned themselves with religion during these restless years, and the power of the Church declined. Psychology became a diversion for those who could afford it. The work of Adler, Freud and Jung was making its impact, but it was somewhat ill-assimilated and was to have some harmful effects in years to come.

E. WORLD WAR II AND AFTERWARD

1. Economic Issues

Dunkirk was one of the greatest epics of the War, Winston Churchill instilled strength and courage in the people, and the Battle of Britain set back the invasion of Britain. But these long War years were austere; there were long working hours and the amenities of life were few. Food was scarce but adequate, the prices were controlled and the main concern was the anguish of the War. The Allies landed in Normandy on 6th June 1944, the atomic bomb was dropped and the end of the War came at last. But the British people found themselves in a largely different world, as they faced the future and the dawn of the Atomic Age.

After the war, hopes were running high. Britain stood on the threshold of a new way of life, in which there would be opportunity for all to live fully and with dignity. But the stark economic truths soon became apparent. Britain had sold much of her investments to other countries to purchase war supplies. The income from that source was gone and couldn't be used to finance imports. Export trade shrunk to less than a third of its pre-war volume. Half of her merchant shipping had been sunk and there was a debt of some three thousand million pounds over her. Britain faced bankruptcy or strict economies and hard work. She was no longer the world's workshop, overseas markets were scarce and the days of cheap food were gone. During the early post-war years rationing continued and life became grimmer. The 1919 unemployment situation

was not repeated this time, however, as industry was called into maximum production.

Many of the lower classes knew for the first time in their lives the comfort of living in some financial security. Labour was at a premium, the power of the trade unions greatly increased, and also the strength of the Labour Party.

The coalition government made plans for post-War reconstruction. Committees were set up and reports issued on an extended National Health Service. Housing schemes and secondary education for all was considered. Then came the Beveridge Report of 1942 creating nation-wide interest and hope for all those who had been dreading the future after the War. Beveridge declared that the great evils to be conquered were want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness. (58) He outlined the principles for a social insurance (without a means test) which was the right of every citizen, including complete health service and family allowances. This social security would establish a national minimum of living for all. Basically this was an insurance scheme - extensive benefits provided for weekly contributions. The famous report was to have profound influence on subsequent social legislation. It emphasized the essential unity of the social services, and it was mostly due to its recommendations that the insurable services were unified.

It was during these years that the idea of social security for all 'from cradle to grave' was first given expression under official auspices in the now famous Beveridge Report on SOCIAL INSURANCE AND ALLIED SERVICES published in 1942. Its recommendations rested on three prerequisites:

(58) SOCIAL SERVICES IN BRITAIN, pp.5-6.

- (1) a system of children's allowances;
- (2) comprehensive health and rehabilitation services for all;
- (3) the avoidance of mass unemployment.

It laid down three main principles:

- (1) that future proposals should be guided not fettered, by the past;
- (2) that the organization of social insurance should be treated as one part only of a comprehensive policy of social progress;
- (3) that social security must be achieved by co-operation between the individual and the State.(59)

Many received the report enthusiastically, while others were not prepared to go the whole way. But as early as 1943, the Government pledged its acceptance of most of the Beveridge plan, in a speech by John Anderson. THE TIMES commented that

"no speech ever delivered in the House of Commons had committed a Government to more far-reaching measures of social advance."(60)

The year 1945 came with a devastating defeat for Winston Churchill and the Conservatives as Labour won with a majority of one hundred and forty-five seats over all the other parties. The British people had associated Conservatism with the miseries, privations, vacillation, unemployment and old class distinctions of the thirties and were unconvinced of the Conservatives' intentions about the Beveridge plan.

The War in the Far East ended a few days after the new Parliament met in 1945, and it was now the task of Labour to bring the peace and prosperity for which Britain was hoping and planning.

The War had been accompanied by great social changes,⁽⁶¹⁾ including a levelling of personal incomes.

(59) Horton Davies, Varieties of English Preaching, P113.

(60) Quoted in M. E. Borer, Britain - TWENTIETH CENTURY, P.216.

(61) Richard M. Titmuss, PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL POLICY, is an excellent volume revealing some of the social effects of the War.

But the position of the lower income groups had eased only slightly. Taxation remained high because of the comprehensive scheme of social reconstruction. The War had shown the inequalities of medical services and that there was still much to be desired in the health of the people. The six years' standstill in house-building accompanied by the destructive effect of air bombardment had swept away the good effects of the pre-War campaign against slums and overcrowding, leaving behind a massive housing shortage.

The depressions and the Wars had delayed the implementation of basic social changes, but

"nothing less than a social revolution was effected by the main legislation of the years 1946-1948." (62)

Since the end of the Second World War, Britain's public social services have been reorganized and enlarged to form a comprehensive system of social provision. A series of acts forms the framework within which this system is still developing. The Family Allowances Act, 1945 (effective August 1946), the National Insurance Act, 1946 (fully effective 5th July, 1948), and the National Insurance (Industrial Injuries) Act, 1946 (effective 5th July, 1948), were all based on the proposals in the Beveridge Report. The National Health Service Act, 1946, and the National Health Service (Scotland) Act, 1947 (also effective 5th July, 1948), established the machinery for operating the new health services, while the New Towns Act, 1946, the Town and Country Planning Act, 1947, and the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act, 1947 (effective 1st July, 1948), created the conditions necessary for rebuilding Britain in a rational and ordered way.

The National Assistance Act, 1948 removed the last traces of the old Poor Law by providing that anyone in need should be assisted out of central Government funds under a national scheme of assistance, while the Children Act, 1948, provided for better care and a more equal chance in life for the child who lacks normal parental care. These acts also took effect on 5th July, 1948. (63)

(62) G. S. Pryde, SCOTLAND FROM 1603 TO THE PRESENT DAY, p.318.

(63) SOCIAL SERVICES IN BRITAIN, p.6.

The National Health Act provided free treatment for everybody and nationalized the hospitals, although it was not passed without considerable opposition. Perhaps more than any other measure, the National Health Service has come to be associated with the idea of the welfare state. Undoubtedly it has brought health to the lower classes.

The housing shortage was one of the greatest social problems of this period. It had been neglected for many years before the War, and the bombing had intensified the situation. The Government helped councils to build small houses, which were allotted on the basis of need. But for a long time to come the demand far outstripped the supply.

Between 1945 and 1950, the country was governed by Socialists, determined, rightly or wrongly, to build houses on socialist principles. The private building of houses for sale was made practically impossible, as building materials and licences for that purpose were withheld. An important source of the supply of houses, which had done much to meet the need between 1919 and 1939, was thus cut off.

In 1952, the Conservative Government began to tackle the housing problem on pre-1939 lines, and their efforts met with much success. Soon the Government could report that houses were being built at the rate of over 300,000 a year. Then the pace of local authority building slackened, but was offset by increased provision through private enterprise. There was still a shortage, however.(64)

The growing population and the development of new slums have prevented this problem from being resolved.

British troops were still needed in divided Berlin and the iron curtain of silence dropped. In 1949 a new crisis of confidence

(64) Milton Briggs & Percy Jordan, ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, P.692.

forced devaluation, and another major crisis in the balance of payments came in 1951.

The Korean War broke out in 1950, which meant more sacrifices and economies for the British people. The bill for the War was crippling and plans for the welfare state had to be modified. But gradually the general living conditions improved. There was still full employment, wages were rising and controls were becoming more and more relaxed.

Trade unions increased in strength enormously during these post-War years, with strikes becoming increasingly frequent for shorter working hours and increased wages. But as wages went up the cost of living rose so that little was gained. Hugh Gaitskell in November of 1950 suggested that the increase in wages should not go beyond what is justified by increases in production, but the unions would have none of it.

The October 1951 Election came with Labour promising welfare, peace and international cooperation. The Tories promised stability, social amenities that could be afforded and an end to nationalization. The Conservatives won by a small but working majority, so that Winston Churchill was back as Prime Minister, although in 1955 he handed over the office to Anthony Eden, who held an Election and won an increased majority for the Conservatives.

King George VI died in 1952 with Queen Elizabeth II being crowned in 1953. The Cold War with Russia continued, industry revived, both prices and wages remained high and there was full employment. In 1954, meat, the last of all the commodities to be

still rationed, was freed. Trade began to boom as Britain re-established her markets, although she seemed to be constantly running into balance of payments crises. Change seemed to be evident everywhere - the clearing away of the old and the replacement of the new. The coal mines were modernized and re-organized and new industries arose.

In 1957 Anthony Eden passed the Premiership to Harold Macmillan. In the 1959 General Election, the Conservatives increased their majority, using the theme of growing prosperity. Harold Macmillan resigned in 1963 and was succeeded by Alec Douglas-Home, who held an Election the following year. But after thirteen years in office, the Conservatives were defeated and the Labour Party returned to power, using the issue of slow economic growth. Again in March, 1966, Harold Wilson's Labour government was returned with an increased majority.

One special feature of Labour's policy had been the setting up of public corporations. This nationalization of basic industries was strengthened by the two World Wars and concerned the Bank of England (1946), the coal industry (1946), civil aviation (1947), public transport (1947), electricity (1947), gas (1948) and the steel industry (1949) which provoked the most opposition. To prevent the House of Lords from blocking the measure, the Parliament Act of 1949 reduced the Lord's delaying power from two years to only one. An awkward problem presently concerns the degree of control that Parliament should exercise over these corporations.

It is clear that the present situation is far from satisfactory; resistance to the extension of nationalization has been shown in the recent elections of 1951, 1955 and 1959 and Labour has moved away from this socialist policy.

Since 1945 there has been the problem of unofficial strikes, especially among the miners and dockers. Since 1939 the machinery for conciliation and arbitration has been widely extended and the Minister of Labour has acquired extensive powers. Great advances in the direction of industrial peace have been made, but the situation is not yet fully resolved. Wages since 1945 have risen continuously all around, but real wages have tended to move in the opposite direction. The White Paper on Employment Policy in 1944 committed all parties to maintaining employment and to the general acceptance of Keynes's teachings. The Wage Councils Act of 1945 was for the purpose of wage settlements. Minimum standards for working conditions were laid down by statute, as in the Factory Acts of 1937 and 1948, with inspectors enforcing statutory regulations. The Monopolies Act of 1948 set up a commission to investigate, the Restrictive Practices Act of 1956 gave more power, and the Resale Price Maintenance Act of 1964 was passed to stop manufacturers from forcing fixed prices. The January 1958 pamphlet, **POSITIVE EMPLOYMENT POLICIES**, showed a highly positive approach and emphasized the re-training and re-allocation of workers. There was a deep suspicion about automation in the early 1950's but it has eased considerably. Concern for the increasing cost of the National Health Service led to the REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY INTO

THE COST OF THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE in 1956. SECURITY AND CHANGE

in 1961 showed that considerable had been done since 1958, but that a very great deal remained to be accomplished and the necessity of joint efforts of employers and employees. The National Economic Development Council (NEDY) began its work in 1962. There was some depression in 1962-1963 in Scotland; a White Paper came out in 1966 entitled THE SCOTTISH ECONOMY 1965-1970, regarding more industry in Scotland and life in the highlands.

The outbreak of the Second World War had again brought agriculture under direct control of the State through the County Agricultural Committees. But the 1945 situation was markedly different from the 1919 one, since cheap food was not as plentiful. The Government developed a definite and comprehensive policy in the Agriculture Act of 1947. Agriculture was mechanized, guaranteed farm prices were set and farmers were encouraged to produce as much as possible. The Agriculture Act of 1957 promoted efficiency and subsidized more cattle industry (especially in the highlands of Scotland). Trade unionism became nearly as important in the agricultural life of the rural worker as in factories. The major present agricultural issues include the high subsidy and the role of Britain in the Common Market.

John F. Munby has stated:

The ideas of laissez faire have been abandoned. Instead, a welfare state has been created in which the government accepts that one of its main duties is to see that its citizens are fed, housed, educated, given medical treatment when needed and provided with opportunity to work. Another task accepted by governments,

because the poorer people form the majority of the electors, is the redistribution of wealth through taxation and pensions, so that the rich become less rich and the poor become less poor. At the beginning of the 20th Century $\frac{3}{4}$ of the wealth of the nation were owned by 2% of the population. Fifty years later the richest 2% owned slightly under half of the nation's wealth, a substantial redistribution in favour of the working people, particularly as the total wealth available has increased considerably. . . . We have reached a stage in economic history where the collective society is well established, but it is quite possible that there will be a return to some of the laissez-faire ideas at a future time in history.(65)

The present century has witnessed a momentous revolution in social services, but the changes have brought some new problems.

To relieve persons according to their needs is ideal, but there have recently been murmurs against the continual rise in the cost of National Assistance, despite additions to retirement pensions. For political reasons, public men tend to remain silent on the subject of social services, but the rising cost of public assistance, which increases with every wave of inflation, is causing uneasiness in many quarters, and some people fear that the welfare state must ultimately collapse under the weight of its own burdens.(66)

There is the problem of wages and prices to be faced every year.

Under any social system it is impossible to share out more than there is to share. In Great Britain, the redistribution of income through public finance and rationing has already gone so far that any substantial general increase in real wages can come only from greater output per worker.(67)

Despite the welfare state and growing affluence, cases of poverty still remain.

(65) John F. Munby, AN ECONOMIC HISTORY, pp.177-178, 211.

(66) Milton Briggs & Percy Jordan, ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, pp.401-402.

(67) Frederic Benham, ECONOMICS, P.516.

Other national issues include devaluation, incomes' policies, the sinking of trawlers, subsidies for the fishing industry, the closing of coal mines, redundancy and others.

Major questions of trade, balance of payments and the European Common Market are also ever present issues.

2. Education Issues

a. England

During the early years of World War II it was the concern of the government to send all school children and expectant mothers or mothers with very young children out of the danger areas of the big cities. Country people were shocked at the poverty of the townspeople, but the people of Britain at last learned to know each other. The sharp cleavages between town and country, rich and poor, were bridged as many long-standing social barriers were broken down.

Generally, conditions for the teachers were extremely difficult, and educational standards inevitably declined. But there had grown a tremendous upsurge of interest in education, a recognition of many inequalities in the present system and a growing number to be educated.

The Butler Education Act of 1944 was the greatest single advance in the development of English Education. For the first time there was a fully coordinated system of national education arranged in three successive stages. It was one of the greatest reforms in English history.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The passage of the bill was remarkably smooth and with few conflicts or issues. The Act made the following widespread changes.

(68) M. E. Hutchinson, EDUCATION IN BRITAIN, p.46.

(1) All schools for children below 11 are 'primary' (instead of elementary), and those for children above that age - whether grammar, technical, or 'modern' - are 'secondary.' The Modern Schools take three-quarters of the children, but all are of equal standing. Primary schools have 'managers' and secondary schools 'govenors.'

(2) The Dual System continues, and voluntary(non-provided) schools may choose between 'controlled' and 'aided' status; in the latter, the managers pay half the cost of repairs and alterations, but retain certain privileges.

(3) Religious instruction must be given in every school, according to an agreed syllabus; and every school day must begin with collective worship, though parents who wish to do so may withdraw their children. Thus a grounding in the Christian faith, far from disappearing, has been made compulsory.

(4) From 1947 the school-leaving age is raised to 15.

(5) No fees may be charged for day-pupils in any state school in receipt of grant, including Grammar Schools.

(6) Private schools outside the state system must be inspected and registered.(69)

The fundamental object of the Act was to establish a system of education for all, according to the individual students abilities and needs. It was an attempt to democratize education by giving parity of conditions to all types of schools; it sought to ensure that no one type could claim superiority over another. It established a complete educational ladder from the infants' school to the University, by means of State scholarships and grants. Thus even poverty was no bar to a University.

The Act did cause a drain on financial resources, but in general there was no reduction in the educational provisions. The Act tried to find a permanent settlement of the religious question,

(69) J. Howard Brown, SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND, pp.65-66.

but the dispute seemed to be perennial and already in 1949 it was being openly questioned. (70)

The Norwood Report and the Report of the Secondary School Examination Council of 1947 engendered some controversy over the age of external examinations. The Robbins Committee Report of 1963 included the recommendations of more places in higher education, the founding of six more universities and the establishment of five special institutions for technical and scientific education and research.

The Local Government Act of 1958 provided for the replacement of the percentage grant system by one of a block grant for various services, and was bitterly opposed by educationalists. (71)

More recent educational issues have involved the shortage of qualified teachers, the cost of education, the effectiveness of education, the transfer age, the best size of school, the future of the Public Schools, the closing of small country primary schools, methods of discipline, the need of technical education, new methods of education, students leaving school early, curricula, examinations, the philosophy of education, adult education, remaining inequalities, further education and others.

(70) A. D. C. Peterson, A HUNDRED YEARS OF EDUCATION, P.41.

(71) W. O. Lester Smith, GOVERNMENT IN EDUCATION, P.14.

b. Scotland

Parliament passed the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945 which generally applied to Scotland the policy that the Government had decided upon for England in 1944. Education was to be usually provided free and Directors of Education were to be appointed. No specific form of religious instruction was prescribed, although it did provide for research, better salaries and superannuation revisions. However, Scottish education did not have the problems of the Dual system as in England.

The Advisory Council on Education published three important reports - PRIMARY EDUCATION in 1946, TECHNICAL EDUCATION in 1946 and SECONDARY EDUCATION in 1947.

The PRIMARY EDUCATION report emphasized twelve as the transfer age, better school buildings, cooperation between home and school, more modern curricula and methods, the abolition of compulsory homework (replaced by forms of voluntary work) and the value of research. It criticised the 'bookish' tradition of Scottish education and was strongly concerned with the value of teaching Scottish traditions in schools. Circular 122 accepted in principle the main suggestions of the valuable report, but warned against being over-zealous on Scottish traditions and of abolishing compulsory homework.

The SECONDARY EDUCATION report emphasized three general principles.

(1) Not only must every child receive a secondary education suited to his age, ability, and aptitude, but his education whether academic or practical, must have equal importance in the eyes of the community and be provided for with equal care and generosity.

(2) The good school must in its variety of types and range of ability reproduce something of the richness of a natural environment.

(3) While the school should be large enough to allow for a fully varied curriculum, it should not be of such a size that the headmaster's personal influence is lost and he becomes a mere administrator. In the light of this principle, 600 is suggested as the maximum enrollment number for a secondary school.(72)

The idea of the multilateral school was rejected, the English tripartite system was criticized, and the School Certificate preferred over the external examinations.

(72) S. J. Curtis, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, P.388.

3. Welfare Issues

By 1945 the continuity of tradition in Britain had been disrupted, people had been bombarded with propaganda of every angle of opinion and some of the standards of ethics had crumbled away. Only one person in seven went to church and half the population claimed that they didn't believe in a personal God, although most admitted they still had the general Christian ethical codes. Psychiatry was immensely popular, although it was little understood. Some people justified their behaviour by their being victims of subconscious instincts.

During succeeding years life has in many respects become increasingly more complex. Electronic brains and computers, radiation and nuclear power stations have now been generally accepted. Medical science has been producing new drugs and developing new techniques at an astonishing rate. The space race began in 1957, with the individual person becoming less and less significant, as his universe became greater and greater.

Some of the older social concerns have been swept away, only to find wider and perhaps more devastating social issues that appear to be growing increasingly incomprehensible, and with the lengthening shadow of the hydrogen bomb ever present.

Within the family circle, however, life for most people has become materialistically more comfortable than it has ever been, with more money, financial security and more leisure. Television became such a craze for a while that it changed people's living habits. Some have more recently protested that this is the

source of too much violence, sadism and sex, but the BBC has defended itself stoutly on this issue.

After 1945 the birth rate rose rapidly so that by the 1960's there were five million young people between fifteen and twenty-one, a large proportion of whom had left school at fifteen and were earning their own livings. Some were barely literate and it is sobering that some three million adults could neither read nor write, even though they went to school.⁽⁷³⁾ Yet these youths do possess a strong collective spending power, amounting to a quarter of the total amount spent on consumer goods.

Delinquency was increasingly recognized as a social problem during the 1950's and 1960's.

This increase was a marked feature of the war years (1939-45) and the immediate post-war period, but it has, although less steeply and with fluctuations, continued since. In 1958 the number of crimes reported to the police in England and Wales represented an increase of more than 120 per cent over 1938. In Scotland, although the increase was smaller it was still significant: the total of crimes reported in 1958 being 75 per cent greater than the 1938 total. Throughout Great Britain the increase has been greatest among males between 17 and 24 years of age. . . .

There are special provisions governing young offenders, and the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, and the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act, 1949, provide that courts shall not sentence a person under 21 years of age to imprisonment unless they consider that no other method of dealing with him is appropriate. In England and Wales, the First Offenders Act, 1958, lays down that no adult may be sent to prison by a magistrates' court for a first offense unless there is no appropriate method of dealing with him; in such a case the court must state its reasons for imposing a sentence of imprisonment.⁽⁷⁴⁾

(73) M. C. Borer, BRITAIN - TWENTIETH CENTURY, P.255.

(74) THE TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS IN BRITAIN, P.1.

In 1955 L. T. Wilkins' THE ADOLESCENT IN BRITAIN was published. The 1963 Newsom Report, HALF OUR FUTURE, included the specific questions of sex instruction. The British Medical Association report, VENEREAL DISEASE AND YOUNG PEOPLE came out in 1964. Michael Schofield's THE SEX BEHAVIOUR OF YOUNG PEOPLE was published in 1965.

Crime and corrections have been a growing issue during this period. The Criminal Justice Act of 1948 abolished penal servitude, hard labor and corporal punishment, accepted the principle that the aim should be as far as possible reformation and restoration to normal life and include many other reforms.

The average population of prisons and borstals in England and Wales on any one day in the immediate pre-war years was 10,000 to 11,000. In 1958 the daily average prison and borstal population in England and Wales was 25,108 (in Scotland it was 2,672 and in Northern Ireland 466). This increase has had to be absorbed, in the main, by already existing prison buildings designed for smaller numbers, and by the bringing into operation of open prisons.

It is the consideration of such factors which has led the United Kingdom Government to formulate now that economic conditions allow, a large-scale programme for the building of new prisons, borstals and other institutions for the treatment of offenders, and for the reconstruction or replacement of a number of old prisons; for improving the quality of the training given in these institutions; and for encouraging the prosecution of research into the causes and treatment of delinquency. A White Paper incorporating the Government's proposals for the development of institutional treatment in England and Wales was issued in February 1959, while a committee to examine the working of the probation service was appointed jointly by the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for Scotland in May 1959.(75)

During the 1950's and 1960's there was an increase of crime. There were also the riots, hunger strikes and escapes from the prisons. Many reports were written, covering the field of corrections. The ROYAL COMMISSION ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT 1949-1953 REPORT was published September, 1953, proposed changes in the law of murder. Some of the other important acts included the Homicide Act of 1957, the Police Force Act of 1964, the Firearms Act of 1965 and the Murder Act of 1965.

Children's welfare became a national issue during the 1940's. THE REPORT ON THE CARE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS IN ENGLAND AND WALES was published in 1946. This Curtis Report shocked the country regarding conditions of life in some of the local authority homes.

"The homes where children were boarded, like the home where little Dennis O'Neill had died, were not only given no careful inspection but were subject to two sets of rules - those under the Poor Law Act of 1930 and those under the Children and Young Persons Act of 1933." (76)

There was also the COMMITTEE ON HOMELESS CHILDREN (Scotland) REPORT of 1946. These two reports led to the Children's Act of 1948, providing further welfare reforms for children. The tragic effects of thalidomide, given to expectant mothers during this period, was not discovered until hundreds of babies had been born with deformities. THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND YOUNG PERSONS (Ingleby Report) of 1960 led to the Children and Young Persons Act of 1963.

(76) Pauline Gregg, THE WELFARE STATE, P.272.

Marriage and divorce has been a national issue for much of the twentieth century. The Marriage Act of 1949 included some matrimonial reforms. In 1951 Mrs. Eirene White's Bill to permit divorce at the petition of either party after seven years of living apart was withdrawn, and the Morton Commission was appointed. In 1955 this Royal Commission suggested additional reforms, but encouraged the retention of the principle of the matrimonial offense. In 1963 another bill similar to Mrs. White's was suggested, including provision for divorce after seven year's separation. The many articles and periodicals attest to the persistence of divorce as a national issue.

The issue of homosexuality appeared during the late 1940's and 1950's. Alfred Kinsey's SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR IN THE HUMAN MALE was published in 1948, and John Wolfenden's HOMOSEXUAL OFFENSES AND PROSTITUTION in 1957. The Wolfenden Committee had made a thorough study of the problem of homosexuality in England, and recommended that homosexual behaviour between consenting adults in private should no longer be a criminal offense, although the laws against indecent assault and the corrupting of youths should be maintained. Although this report received almost unanimous acceptance in the English press, majority opinion in both the House of Commons and the House of Lords was initially against it, perhaps more for political reasons. Michael Schofield's SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF HOMOSEXUALITY came out in 1965. The House of Lords gave approval on May 24, 1965, but it was rejected by the House of Commons. On February 11, 1966, after much debate, the House of Commons finally approved the Bill.

Abortion has been a strong national issue during the last part of this period. Many magazine articles were written about this issue, especially in the 1960's. A Medical Termination of Pregnancy Bill was introduced into the House of Commons in February of 1961 and was talked out. Another bill, to amend the law on abortion, was introduced in June of 1965, but it died. A new bill was introduced in November 1965. In 1966 the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act was passed.

Housing has continued to be a national concern. Slum clearance and new towns were the subjects of many reports during the 1950's and 1960's.

"At the end of 1965 there were still some three million families in Great Britain living in slums, in near slums, or in grossly overcrowded conditions: the worst areas were in the North of England and on Clydeside."(77)

Race Relations has become a growing issue during the 1960's, as can be seen in the Commonwealth Immigrant's Act of April 1962 which gave rise to bitter feeling since it controlled the immigration of Commonwealth Citizens for the first time. This Act did not work very well and in 1965 the highly controversial Race Relations Act was passed (carried by only nine votes), which legislated against discrimination. This was followed by the controversial 1968 Act restricting immigration.

(77) Pauline Gregg, THE WELFARE STATE, pp.231-232.

Drug taking became an alarming national issue during the first part of the 1960's, as can be seen from the considerable number of articles in periodicals on the problem. DRUG ADDICTION, REPORT OF THE INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE came out in 1961, and DRUG ADDICTION, SECOND REPORT OF THE INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE was published in 1965.

Betting was forced off the streets by the betting and Gambling Act of 1960, based partly on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Betting, Lotteries and Gambling of 1949-1951.

Alcohol problems continued to be a national concern during this period, especially during the 1950's with statistics revealing a large increase in male drunkenness. Alcohol related to driving was a subject of recent legislation.

Population changes have periodically been a concern during the twentieth century. A Royal Commission on Population was appointed in 1944 over concern about the falling birth-rate. The Report in June, 1949 revealed that the falling population was no longer a major problem, although aspects of it still were, as the growing group of those over sixty-five. Scotland had considerable population loss during the 1950's and 1960's through emigration. The Phillips Report of 1954 took a less serious view of future population trends.

Other important issues of national concern during this period include birth control methods, safety of new drugs, highway safety, leisure, equal pay for equal work, family poverty, mental health, and illness, crafting conditions, disabled persons and old age.

The following ought also to be mentioned: smoking, artificial human insemination, euthanasia or mercy killing, obscenity and censorship, violence, medical transplantation of organs, sterilization, initiative,⁽⁷⁸⁾ the Aberfan disaster, materialism, demonstrations, student movements, Hithergreen and devolution.

The social road for Britain from 1900 into the middle years of the twentieth century has indeed been tumultuous and revolutionary.

To examine the present is like peering into the waters of a stream which has come from the past and flows to the future. The future is dim and barely discerned; of the past we know a little and can assess the rest but imperfectly. The present, for all our probing, is difficult enough to understand. Even when all is calm the moment cannot be caught. The water that laps my hand was - is - will be - and is different at one and the same time. The wind whips up ripples that give false impressions of the water's movement, the current is disturbed by boulders, a thrown stone causes ever-widening circles that beat the farther bank. The onlooker can only record what he sees and try to estimate the effect of such action as dredging the stream to make it flow more clearly, removing the boulder to prevent diversion, or stopping the bystanders from throwing stones. But, for all our difficulties of assessment and interpretation, we can be certain that the present channel is well and deeply cut. Accident or diversion may stem the flow or divert the current, but nothing can stem or divert the main movement to welfare within a society of equals which was begun a quarter of a century ago when Britain arose out of the devastation of war to build again.⁽⁷⁹⁾

(78) This issue is emphasized by Richard M. Titmuss in *Essays on 'The Welfare State,'* pp.114-118.

(79) Pauline Gregg, THE WELFARE STATE, P.312.

CHAPTER IV. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE GENERAL SOCIAL RESPONSES
OF CLERGYMEN AND THEIR SOCIAL PREACHING

CHAPTER IV. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE GENERAL SOCIAL RESPONSES
OF CLERGYMEN AND THEIR SOCIAL PREACHING

- A. OCCASIONAL SOCIAL PREACHING WITH MINIMAL RESPONSE
IN OTHER SOCIAL CONCERN AREAS
- B. MODERATE SOCIAL PREACHING WITH MODERATE RESPONSE
IN OTHER SOCIAL CONCERN AREAS
- C. STRONG SOCIAL PREACHING WITH STRONG RESPONSE
IN OTHER SOCIAL CONCERN AREAS

This chapter will present some of the twentieth century sermons on social issues. Fifteen clergymen will be studied, chosen primarily because they were some of the more outstanding preachers of their day and their sermons are presently available.

Walter Rauschenbusch has been included because of the extensive publication of his works and wide influence in Britain. He also was a pioneer and model in the resurgence of social preaching.

This critical research is presented in three themes, in order to portray the relationships between the social preaching of a particular clergyman and his response in other social areas. The fifteen clergymen chosen were among the most prominent of their time. Five of them are examples of occasional social preaching with minimal response in other social areas. Another five clergy are examples of moderate social preaching with moderate response in other social concern areas. And a final five clergymen are examples of strong social preaching with strong response in other social concern areas.

There is almost always a direct correlation between the extent of social preaching and the extent of activity in other areas of social concern.

Economic-welfare issues will be primarily included, although other social concerns will be alluded to when felt to be important to the subject. It is interesting to note that many preachers during this twentieth century also preached on social issues, at least occasionally. Many possessed a social concern which resulted in social action in their lives as well as in preaching from their pulpits.

A. OCCASIONAL PREACHING WITH MINIMAL RESPONSE
IN OTHER SOCIAL CONCERN AREAS

The following are examples of occasional preaching with minimal response in other social concern areas.

G. Campbell Morgan (1863-1945) was one of the great preachers of all time, known primarily as a biblical expositor. His ministry took place during times of deep crisis in both England and America. Theological storms raged as the liberals and modernists conflicted. The rise of scientism and secularism brought dark clouds to the church horizon. World Wars left their deep scars on both the people and the churches. The devastating depression of the 1930's shook both nations.

Morgan was not oblivious to these social crises. He stated his conviction that the whole intellectual world was under the mastery of the physical scientists. Convinced that materialistic and rationalistic philosophy dominated the scene, he tried all the harder to proclaim biblical revelation. He was deeply aware of the horror of war, and became a pacifist. He would not allow toy soldiers in his children's nursery, and preached that war was contrary to the mind of God and was always displeasing to God. He believed that a Christian was not to obey his government, when government called him to do what was against his conscience. He asserted,

"I do not believe that a Christian should at all times support his Government; but I do believe he is bound to do so when the Government is acting in the interest of righteousness."(1)

(1) Jill Morgan, ed., THIS WAS HIS FAITH (Westwood, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1952), P.300.

Morgan did not dwell as much on current issues as some other preachers of his day, but he did not neglect them. He wrote,

"It never was my habit in pastorates. . . . to preach on current events. But there have been hours when it was necessary that from the pulpit there should sound the prophetic voice to some national or international situation. I never found an hour when I had to go anywhere except to my Bible to find the message for such an hour."⁽²⁾

Morgan did preach on specific social issues as well as on social injustice in general. For example, in one sermon he attacked the effort to legalize trade in narcotics. Morgan did generally preach on the great themes of the Bible, but it is untrue that he never preached on contemporary issues. This fact is attested to by his sermon 'Righteousness or Revenue',⁽³⁾ in which Morgan opposed legalizing dope, through a contemporary development of Matthew 6:24,

"Ye cannot serve God and mammon."

These words occur in that part of the Manifesto of Jesus in which, after enunciating His laws for the government of human life, both in its human and Divine relationships, He declared the necessity for a super-earthly consciousness in dealing with all the things of the earth. . . .

England has twice declared, through her elected representatives in Parliament assembled, that the opium traffic is 'morally indefensible.' Since doing so, within the last two years, the Government has steadily resisted China's efforts to rid herself of it. It is said that we must proceed slowly, that there is the need of policy. I know nothing about policy. I face the facts. I stand in the presence of China's undoing, and I can hardly speak of this thing as I feel it. I know perfectly well

- (2) Edgar Dewitt Jones, AMERICAN PREACHERS OF TODAY (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1933), P.287.
- (3) THE PREACHING OF G. CAMPBELL MORGAN, The Westminster Pulpit, Vol.4, (Old Tappan, N.Y.: Fleming H. Revell Co., n.d.), pp.59-70.

that some people will say, the preacher was in danger of getting excited. I am terribly in danger of it. I can hardly possess my soul. Where attempts have been made in certain quarters, during the last two years by China's government, to put an end to this traffic, our Government, by its agents and representatives, has declared that it cannot be done because of existing treaty rights, and that there must be a gradual ending of the thing. That is where we are.

This is not a question of politics, party politics. By unanimous vote, not merely of men sitting on one side of the House, but of the whole Assembly, England has said through her elected representatives, this thing is morally indefensible; but we are halting. Why? There is only one word. Revenue!

. . . What a chance to show the awakening world conscience that we prefer righteousness to revenue.

. . . When I have said all, I have not said half that should be said. When I have said all, the last thing and the best thing is that I should get down, and that you should get down before God, taking the sin of our nation into our own hearts. We made our boast that we are of Great Britain. Her shame is ours also. Let us get down before Him in humiliation. Let us cry to Him that He will at this moment guide, direct, and deliver us from this shame, to the glory of His name.(4)

Arthur John Gossip⁽⁵⁾ (1873-1954) experienced many dark days economically in Scotland.⁽⁶⁾ Depressions with accompanying unemployment plagued the land. People suffered terribly from these crises and cried out for economic reform. The socialist movement gained momentum in Great Britain and swept to power during Gossip's lifetime.

(4) Loc. Cit.

(5) Arthur John Gossip (1873-1954) was born in Glasgow, graduated from the University of Edinburgh, and was a minister of the United Free Church in Scotland, serving as both pastor and professor. Scotland has given the world many famous preachers and one of them certainly was A. J. Gossip, who preached the famous sermon "But When Life Tumbles In, What Then?" after the death of his wife in 1927.

(6) John Muchline, "The Late Professor A. J. Gossip, M.A., DD., L.L.D.," EXPOSITORY TIMES, July 1954, P.301.
T. & T. Clark.

There was great effort to apply the Christian faith to social issues. But apart from war, Gossip seldom spoke directly on any of these issues.

Gossip seldom dealt directly and explicitly with social issues. Apparently, he thought that encouraged and transformed individuals would be better able to reform a corrupt social order. His message was directed more to individuals than to society. He believed that better persons were needed, and that these in turn would create a better society.

However, Gossip's indirect emphasis is strong. For example, in his sermon "The Clash of Age and Youth" he preached:

Yet, on the other side, you have acuter consciences by far concerning certain social sores, simply can't understand how we could tolerate them, look at us in a way that we find most uncomfortable, much as we ourselves were wont to glance scornfully at the pious who, prior to our day, served God with what they believed to be a convinced and honest earnestness, while yet thrusting little shivering frightened souls of six and eight down for long, dreadful hours into the darkness of the mines; and just as others down the centuries will look back at you too. For as yet it is a very crude and elementary Christianity we have worked out, which our successors, please God, will leave far behind. Meantime, when you look at us so hotly, we can only say that, though we cannot well explain it now that our eyes have been directed to them, the fact is we did not see these wrongs that so infuriate you - somehow, we never noticed them. "You see," we stammer, "they were always there; and our eyes ran across them." "Well, we do see them," you say grimly, "and we can't stand them - and we won't."

And that is well. Only you seem to be touched by what Raleigh calls the "idiotic simplicity of the revolutionary idea;" seem to imagine that something external, economic, political, can change this tangled world for us into all that it ought to be, while you and I remain just what we were. It won't, says Christ.

It is new men that are needed - another you, another I, another all of us - grown into new and Christlike creatures, with His new ways and thoughts and dreams. And you can be quite certain Christ is right. Still you do see that what, because it looked uncomfortably difficult to live, we pushed aside as obvious metaphors, not to be taken literally, are not metaphors but laws that we have got to learn to work out somehow. You are keen to do something: your hands itch to begin to build; to change these ruins into a Temple of God. You have indeed set happily to work, and everywhere there is the tinkling of the trowels on the stones, the sound of busy saw and hammer. Well, God bless you and give you good speed!

And what I would say to each of you is that you must be true to the light of your own generation. There is an old prophet who asks indignantly how people can bear to live in their own ceiled houses, while God's house lies in a blackened heap! And in this day of awakened social conscience, of endeavour to be helpful to each other, are you, for your part, going to hold aloof, to take no part in the characteristic enterprise of your own age, to spend your life dully and commonplacely upon your own ends, just as if these new visions had not risen on men's minds, to be so out of date as to think living for oneself is the only thing.(?)

Gossip's sermon "On the Imitation of Christ: A Warning" preaches:

For one thing, Christ refused to be a legislator, to provide us with a set of rules, laying down the proper conduct in every conceivable situation, a book of the words with an elaborate index, so that, when in doubt, all we have to do is to look up the appropriate heading, such as, say, the ideal social system, or the like, and find it all set down for us in detail. And, because of that refusal, many tell us impatiently that Christ is out of date, an admirable guide, no doubt, in the region of personal religion, but with nothing to say about those social and economic questions which we find so urgent, and so clamant, and so insistently demanding a solution. For help, there, so we are told, we have to look to the Greek thinkers, and not to Christ at all. . . .

Mercifully, what He lays on us are principles, and a spirit, which we must apply for ourselves in each situation. . . .

- (7) Arthur John Gossip, THE HERO IN THY SOUL
(Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928), pp.49-63.

Or, take the Law of Brotherhood, that central Christian rule of life. Usually it means kindness and sympathy to all our fellow-men. But when, and if, some of our brothers persist in maltreating certain others of our brothers, and will not desist therefrom, then what does one do? Does the Law mean that, because the wrongdoers are our brothers, we must be patient and unruffled towards them, protest perhaps, but take no violent action to check and arrest them? Have the wronged brothers got no rights? Have they not the first call upon the Law of Brotherhood? Can we obey it, and allow them to be maltreated? "But who is my neighbour?" asked a captious mind. "I'll tell you a story, and you'll answer that yourself," said Christ, and improvised the immortal parable about the Priest, and the Levite, and the good Samaritan.(8)

(8) Arthur John Gossip, EXPERIENCE WORKETH HOPE
(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945),
pp.123-33.

Donald Macpherson Baillie⁽⁹⁾ (1887-1954) revealed a considerable amount of social concern in his sermons, although it is fairly general and less in quantity than that of his brother. He has been chosen also because he was a distinguished theologian.

- (9) Donald Macpherson Baillie (1887-1954) was born in Gairloch, in Wester Ross.

Baillie entered New College, Edinburgh University, in 1909; where he was influenced by such men as James Seth, Alexander Martin, H. R. Mackintosh, H. A. A. Kennedy, A. R. MacEwen, and Alexander Whyte.

He began assisting at North Morningside in 1913, where Dr. D. W. Forrest was minister. When the war broke out, he served with the Y.M.C.A. in France. Then he ministered in the Border parish of St. Boswells, where there was the need for a locum tenens, and where he regained his health, being plagued by asthma most of his life. In 1918 he was called to the United Free Church in Inverbervie on Kincardineshire coast. For another five years he preached at Bervie at the United Free Church there, where he also wrote articles for the EXPOSITOR and other journals. In 1923 Donald Baillie was inducted into St. John's Church at Cupar and served there until 1930.

"Faith in God and its Christian Consummation" was Baillie's subject for the Kerr Lectureship of 1926; and he continues his ministry for four years at St. Columba's Church at Kilmalcolm, where he experienced the loss of his mother. Although several overseas colleges made him offers he went in 1933 as Examiner in Divinity, to Edinburgh, and then on to St. Andrews in 1934 accepting the Chair of Systematic Theology, after receiving the honorary doctorate in Divinity.

Baillie came to be in the front rank of world theologians, gave the Forwood Lectures at Liverpool in 1947, the Moore Lectures at San Francisco during an extensive tour in 1952, held the chairmanship of the local refugee committee, sponsored the Iona Community, was active in the ecumenical movement, and became Convener of the Church of Scotland Committee on Inter-Church Relations.

(Donald Baillie, TO WHOM SHALL WE GO?, P.18.)

The area of economics was of little concern apparently to Donald Baillie, and this included his own personal economic matters. Thus it is not surprising to find very little concern shown in this area of his sermons. However, he does mention the unemployed.

Perhaps my greatest sin is that when there were three millions of unemployed folk in this country, and hundreds of thousands of youths being ruined by it in body and soul, I didn't care anything like enough about it. And if we don't care enough yet, and if, when that kind of problem comes again, we haven't cared enough to find a way out - we Christians - that will indeed be the day of judgment for the Church of Christ, showing that it has substituted self-centered sentimentalism for the Pentecostal spirit of community.(10)

There are some references to the family area of social concern, although Donald Baillie never married and had a family himself.

He described the culture surrounding the family of his day, and said,

"But we can't close our eyes any longer to the change in world civilization - social, industrial, political, moral, and religious changes."(11)

(10) Ibid., P.70.

(11) Donald M. Baillie, OUT OF NAZARETH, P.51.

Donald Baillie makes some general references to the affairs of politics and nations.

I do not for one moment mean that the Christian Church or pulpit should preach political programmes. But it ought to denounce social evils, and it ought to stab awake the consciences of its members about the great sin of their social callousness. Again: I do not suggest that everyone who shouts slogans of social reform is near the Kingdom of God or the Gospel of Christ. It is quite easy to make this kind of thing an escape from God and Christ. It is dreadfully easy, especially if we have some discontents of our own, to shout slogans about a new social order, and even to get fussy and busy about social reform, without really caring a scrap about our fellows. . . .(12)

Dr. Johnson (18th Century) could practice his religion in a realm apart from the great affairs of nations. But no one can draw that line today, and any wide-awake Christian would be ashamed to try to draw it. Our minds are all the time being bombarded, through radio and the newspapers, with news of catastrophic events on every part of the surface of this planet, and it is in that whirlwind that we have to live our Christian lives. . . . Our very religion becomes a religion of problems.(13)

Justice is mentioned a few times, as also is the area of race.(14) In regard to persons in need, Baillie says

"What do we see when we look at someone who seems to have made a mess of his life? . . . Sometimes we just see the wretched fellow as he is, in all his shame and failure, and our hearts reject him, without imagination or pity."(15)

(12) Donald Baillie, TO WHOM SHALL WE GO?, P.70.

(13) Ibid., P.88.

(14) Ibid., P.96 and P.142.

(15) Ibid., P.102.

In his mind (Pharisee) all humanity were divided into two classes, the good people (of whom he was one) and the bad people. He had no use at all for the bad people, no interest in them. . . . He (Christ) looked at those people with the indefatigable faith that they could yet be made into sons and daughters of God.(16)

In his sermon entitled "The Religious Life," Baillie portrays the Christ of everyone.

But Jesus lived among men, moved about among them and shared in their activities, their social joys and sorrows; going as a guest to all sorts of houses, taking part in wedding feasts, carrying on His beneficent work in their towns and villages; so that people even used to contrast Him with John the Baptist, and to say that this Jesus was everybody's companion.(17)

Professor Donald M. Baillie revealed a worked through theology of society. He described some of the social needs.

. . . . students in Europe and Asia today who have to live their lives and pursue their studies in conditions which would seem to us quite impossible, with shortage of money and food and rooms and books and time and everything that university life would seem to require.

That is the world we are living in. Surely in this present age more than in most ages young people like you are bound to awaken and ask themselves what they are living for. In such a world you can't accept all your privileges complacently and set out to have a good time for yourselves.(18)

You will perhaps wish impatiently to remind me that many an honest sceptic has had high moral ideals, and that, God or no God, our moral convictions stand fast. You will tell me that many who do not profess to believe in God have a greater social concern, a finer devotion to the cause of reform among their fellowman, than many Christians. You will perhaps remind me that the great Dr. Hansen himself was an unbeliever, and yet he worked out his dreams for the relief of suffering humanity in a way that would put most of us to the blush. Yes, indeed.

(16) Ibid., P.105.

(17) Donald Baillie, OUT OF NAZARETH, P.118.

(18) Donald Baillie, TO WHOM SHALL WE GO? P.25.

But I wonder how long that kind of thing can last - high ideals and noble service without any faith. For one generation, perhaps, and then mainly by living unconsciously on the religious capital of the last generation.(19)

I wonder how far Christianity can live up to that in the world of today. There is plenty of darkness and plenty of despair. There are plenty of people asking wistfully where they can get light upon the terrible problems of our age.(20)

Baillie asserted that there is a need to serve in society today, and gives the example of:

. . . . a labouring man. . . . Perhaps he is thinking of God. Perhaps he is bringing the light of his faith to bear upon the great issues he has been reading about in his newspaper - labour troubles, party politics, war and peace among the nations. Perhaps he is connecting all these things with the God he believes in. Why not? He is a working man. So was Jesus. And you don't know what depths of Christian faith there may be in the heart and life of that ordinary man. . . . It may be that behind the scenes of what seems a very commonplace existence there is a brave unselfish life of burden-bearing for other people, sustained perhaps by the fellowship of the Church of Christ and by a living faith in God.(21)

what would the life of the Church of Christ, what would the life of this country of Scotland, have been through all the centuries without that kind of thing happening quietly and deeply among all sorts of people, from cottage to castle up and down the land? . . .

The one aim and end of all we have inherited, all we have been taught in our Christian homes and in the Church of Christ, is that we should, each one, and all in fellowship, come to have Jesus Christ as our own Lord and Master, the eternal God as our Father and our Friend, in the communion of the Holy Spirit.(22)

In his sermon "Bought With a Price"⁽²³⁾ he states that,

" That kind of individualism is just selfishness: hard mean irresponsible selfishness. . . . men and women living among their fellows with no thought but their own security and prosperity, without sympathy or compassion or imagination or any sense of social responsibility."(24)

(19) Ibid., P.26.

(20) Ibid., P.59.

(21) Ibid., pp.35-36.

(22) Ibid., P.37.

(23) Ibid., pp.45-51.

(24) Ibid., P.47.

He talks about a 'crusade for the Kingdom of Heaven' in this sermon and frequently uses this phrase or 'His Kingdom,' 'Kingdom of Christ,' or 'Kingdom of God.' He preaches,

"Remember what really matters in the Christian life is not our feelings, our emotions, our moods, but how we live, with dedicated wills, in faith and love. And thus we ought to be looking away from ourselves and our own feelings to God above us and our fellow-creatures around us."(25)

In the sermon entitled, "The Community of the Holy Spirit,"(26)

Donald Baillie devotes the sermon to the clarification of the social Gospel question, using Acts 2:44-47 as his text.

Is Christianity an individual Gospel or a social Gospel? Is it a matter of 'my soul and God,' or is it concerned with the social and political order? Wherever I go just now I find that question being asked, and indeed hotly debated, with two opposite answers given. On the one hand I am told that a Christian's primary concern is with the salvation of his own soul in preparation for the world to come, and that the Church ought not to be directly interested in social or economic reform, because the real evil is the moral and spiritual evil in man's hearts, and it can only be dwelt with by individual conversion. So true Christianity is an individual Gospel. Well, that sounds pretty deep. But then, on the other hand, I am told that true Christianity is a social Gospel, with a programme for the transformation of human society and a passion to make this world a better place for all sorts and conditions of men. Therefore, the Christian Church can't possibly stand aside from the social evils and problems of the age. It dare not keep silent about them, its message must be vitally concerned with them. And as for the individual, if he is more concerned with saving his own soul than in securing social justice and opportunity for his less fortunate fellows, his religion is a religion of selfish escape, whereas true Christianity is a social Gospel.

(25) Ibid., P.153.

(26) Donald Baillie, TO WHOM SHALL WE GO?, pp.66-72.

These are the two sides of it, and they are constantly put up against each other in these days. On the one hand: "What's the good of a social Gospel if our individual souls have not been saved?" and on the other hand: "What's the good of an evangelical Christianity that doesn't deal with social evil?" Well, which of these is right? Is true Christianity an individual or a social Gospel? Does it speak to us of an individual salvation, or of a new social order?

Surely the right answer is "Both." And both together. They can't be separated, or they both go bad.(27)

Baillie asserted that at Pentecost, religion became more deeply a social thing than it had ever been before.

There sprang up a new kind of care for the poor, and presently a new attitude to slaves. They had a new sense of loyal responsibility for all their fellow-creatures, and they started to spread the good thing that had made them into a community. Of course, they didn't embark upon a programme of social reform. They didn't even try to banish slavery. How could they? They had no political power in the great Roman Empire; most of them had no vote; they had none of the opportunities of modern democracy - that was far beyond the horizon. But the spirit was there - a spirit of community with all mankind - a new community without distinctions of class or race, in which every man was a child of God, a slave just as much as his master. That was Christianity.

Yes, and that is still true Christianity. And now that we do live in an age of democracy, where we all have voting power, and must all share responsibility for the dreadful evils of our social system, the Christianity that did not care about social reform would not be genuine Christianity at all. . . .

"Being saved": What does that mean? It does not mean a passport for a place called heaven. It means being transformed into the sort of person that can't separate his own welfare from that of his fellows. . . . sin is equal to self-centeredness, and my supreme sin is that I don't care enough about the welfare and the vices of my fellows, both spiritual and material.(28)

(27) Ibid., pp.66-67.

(28) Ibid., pp.68-70.

Then as almost a summary of his theology of society,

Donald Baillie preached:

. . . . if we are Christians we must believe that Christianity has the answer to the problems. And I am sure that in certain quarters Christianity is facing the issues, thinking them out and giving hopeful lead in a hopeless world. But how far is our Christianity sharing in that lead, or even conveying to the world any impression of possessing a faith and hope that we can hold on to? A great deal of our common Christianity is not live enough for that, and not intelligent enough. . . . to make a plea for a more intelligent Christianity, a Christianity that has to some extent thought itself out, and knows what it means and believes, and can give some answers to the world's pathetic questions.(29)

. . . . Christianity. . . . is not a religion of easy rosy optimism in such a world. You can thank God that this Christianity which has come down to us is a religion that faced the worst and went down into the depths and endured the Cross before it rose up and proclaimed the victory and the glory in its Gospel. . . . to call you to His royal service in this tragic world.(30)

Professor Baillie preached that Christ came to end all misery and set up His Kingdom.

". . . . may God. . . . give you each one something to do."(31)

(29) Ibid., P.60.

(30) Ibid., pp.85-86.

(31) Ibid., P.98.

James Stuart Stewart⁽³²⁾ (1896-) has touched millions around the world. His ability and dedication took him to the heights as a preacher in Scotland during the middle portion of the twentieth century. Through his writing he made an impact for Christ on every English-speaking country in the world.

- (32) James Stuart Stewart was born in Dundee, Scotland, July 21, 1896. He attended school in Dundee and then studied at St. Andrews University in Scotland. From this University he received both the M.A. and the B.D. degrees. As a student he excelled in scholarly gifts. In further work at New College of the University of Edinburgh, and in Germany at the University of Bonn, he continued to display great intellectual talent.

Stewart attained fame as an author and as a preacher. After completing his formal education, he served as pastor of St. Andrews Church in Auchterarder, the Beechgrove Church in Aberdeen, and the North Morningside Church in Edinburgh.

In 1947 he was invited to become professor of New Testament language, literature and theology at New College, University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

Stewart's pietistic nature and evangelistic spirit caused him to be something of a controversial person in Scotland. He encouraged the Billy Graham crusades in Scotland while numbers of Church of Scotland ministers opposed Graham's meetings. A churchman of the Free Church stripe, he refused to back down from his stance in favor of evangelism. His writings indicate his deep concern about the proclamation of the gospel. He centered his preaching on central themes of the faith such as the incarnation, crucifixion, and the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Stewart also occasionally displayed a concern for social problems. In THINE IS THE KINGDOM he said:

If with the New Testament we believe that the eternal word took upon Himself a body of flesh, we have no right to preach a disembodied Gospel dissociated from material and mundane concerns. The indicative of the incarnation carries with it a revolutionary imperative. It implicates us inextricably in history. It compels us to see the circumstances of man's corporate life as the raw materials of God's eternal purpose. The mysticism which would bypass earthly conditions it brands as a nauseating irrelevance. "As the Father sent Me into the world," said Jesus to His men, "so send I you."

The proclamation of Christ lays the axe to the roots of the tree of serfdom and superstition, of radical discrimination and social injustice. From the hour when the Word became incarnate and the love of heaven struck down the plagues and confusions of the world, the Church received the marching-orders of its mission. Like its Master, it was to take upon itself the burden of the plight of men, and to involve itself in all the conditions of their life on earth.(33)

His ability as a preacher and his gifts as a scholar have been widely recognized by numerous honors given to him. In 1952 he became a Chaplain to the queen. He delivered the Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching at Yale in 1953. In 1963 he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; taking a leave of absence from the University of Edinburgh, he gave a year in denominational service. Churches of various denominations, seminaries and Universities have sought him as a preacher.

(33) James S. Stewart, THINE IS THE KINGDOM (Edinburgh: Saint Andrews Press, 1956), pp.42-44.

James Stewart has been called

"one of the glories of the Scottish pulpit."⁽³⁴⁾

His preaching is marked by assurance and definiteness; he announces good news rather than petty moralisms. Horton Davies has said,

"The only appropriate term for his preaching is 'heraldic'!"

John McIntyre, in his book THE SHAPE OF CHRISTOLOGY, said

If one were to try to track down in human terms the secret of the power of the preaching of Professor James S. Stewart, he might first mention the carefully chosen descriptive language, his constant practice of interpreting Scripture by Scripture, but the secret, I feel, lies in the way in which Professor Stewart so presents the biblical situations, so reconstructs the motives, attitudes, reactions of our Lord to those whom he confronts, that we ourselves are drawn into these self-same situations, ourselves confronted, challenged, judged, forgiven.⁽³⁵⁾

Stewart believes in an honest interpretation and exegesis of the Scripture. Interestingly enough, many have accused him of allegorizing Scripture, or at least of spiritualizing it.

Stewart himself urged honest exegesis:

There are some sermons which, starting out from a word of Scripture, proceed quite flagrantly to violate the intention of the original writer. . . . To say this is not, of course, to suggest that allegorizing is necessarily bad: nor does it imply a rigid and excessive literalism distrustful of all spiritual lines of interpretation. There is no reason why you should not, occasionally at least, extend the reference of a text beyond its immediate setting. . . . But the strongest and most helpful preaching is that which expounds a text or passage in dynamic relationship to its actual setting in Scripture. Loyalty to the Word of God demands scrupulous care in exegesis.⁽³⁶⁾

(34) Horton Davies, VARIETIES OF ENGLISH PREACHING, 1900-1960 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), P.231.

(35) John McIntyre, THE SHAPE OF CHRISTOLOGY (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), P.128.

(36) James S. Stewart, HERALDS OF GOD (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), pp.155-156.

The sermons of Stewart give indication that he is aware of the needs of the people to whom he preaches and the relevance of the gospel to his own day and time. (37)

In his Warrack Lectures he wrote:

The Gospel is not for an age, but for all time: yet it is precisely the particular age - this historic hour and none other - to which we are commissioned by God to speak. It is against the background of the contemporary situation that we have to reinterpret the Gospel once for all delivered to the saints; and it is within the framework of current hopes and fears that we have to show the commanding relevance of Jesus. (38)

Stewart (39) recommended beginning where your hearers are, meeting them on their own ground.

It is obvious that Stewart had great gifts as a preacher. Therefore, one might conclude that his social preaching would probably have been highly effective, had he practiced it more.

(37) Ibid., P.119.

(38) Ibid., P.11.

(39) All of Stewart's sermons are well illustrated. The conclusions are quiet rather than dramatic; he believes that the day of the florid, self-conscious climax has passed. People are rightly suspicious of sermons culminating in a blaze of literary fireworks, "like a sonata with a noisy coda." He wrote:

Diminuendo, not crescendo, ought to be the rule as you draw near the end. Much better conclude quietly and even abruptly than indulge in any declamatory pyrotechnics. . . . You will never weaken the force of your final appeal by keeping it restrained. In nine cases out of ten, quiet notes are better there than crashing chords. No doubt there are exceptions. . . . Let your last words of appeal have in them something of the hush that falls when Christ Himself draws near.

(Ibid., pp.137-40.)

It appears that his background in good communities, churches and schools did not afford much direct contact with the social evils of his day. Also, the more conservative theology would not have placed much emphasis on social concerns. Seldom do we hear a solid social note sounded in his preaching. He might be considered a negative example, in view of the fact that he does not begin to measure up to the model of social preaching as found in Rauschenbusch.

Robert James McCracken (1904-) was born in Motherwell, Scotland, received the M.A. and the B.D. from the University of Glasgow, and pastored churches in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Ontario, and New York City. McCracken was the successor to Harry Emerson Fosdick at the Riverside Church.

In a sermon entitled "Role of the Church in the Crisis," McCracken spoke of the Christian's responsibility in the world around him:

It is the duty of the church and of every church member to see to it that the glory of God floods all the activities of men. . . . Christian men and women in all walks of life. . . . should be informing, arousing, stimulating the public conscience, intervening in any situation where wrong is being done, lifting up their voice against injustices and corruption, embodying and establishing Christian principles of social action.(40)

He showed a strong concern for public affairs in his sermon "Beware of Melancholy":

Officials in the capital seem to be saying that we have taken on so much in the world, in the cities, with the races, that we have raised expectations beyond our capacity to fulfil. The visions of a Great Society, a war on poverty, and a compassionate and vigorous nation fighting for a world of decency and order have faded. The melancholy is not confined to Washington and the administration but is rife throughout the country. . . .

(40) "Role of the Church in the Crisis," PULPIT DIGEST 31 (June 1951): 27,34.

. . . . If you are in the grip of melancholy don't yield to the temptation to resign from life, to disengage yourself from involvement and responsibility. When they are in low moods, the temptation besetting men in the administration at Washington must be to quit politics.

. . . . But when God is our Rock and our strong Tower, melancholy may afflict us, it cannot master us. "Why art thou cast down, O my soul? And why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise him who is the health of my countenance and my God.(41)

In "Religion: Escape or Involvement" McCracken preached:

The Negro churches have become rallying centers in the struggle for social justice. Shouldn't they be? Isn't that a function of all churches? Instead of being pleasant gardens walled around, instead of being self-contained institutions and appealing to those outside, to attend their services, to take part in their activities, they ought to get from behind their closed doors and involve themselves in the establishment of a just and equitable order.

(41) (unpublished) , pp.65-69.

I am glad Dr. Eugene Carson Blake in this pulpit advocated for Christians caught up in the struggle for social justice concrete lines of action - demonstrate, write senators and representatives, join civil rights organizations, use personal influence to see that jobs are open to Negroes who are qualified, break down prejudice and segregation in your community.

. . . . In 1920 Harry Emerson Fosdick stated the case

thus:

The great social needs and the projected social crusades of our days, which so depend on faith in God, may well themselves create the atmosphere in which we find God.(42)

"Commitment Unlimited" is a strong social action dialogue:

It puts special stress on the Christian becoming more and more involved as a Christian in the life of the world, in the crusade for civil rights and a just and equitable society, in taking a stand on a moral issue like the war in Vietnam. It is impatient with Sunday worship services if they are remote from the crises of our generation, if the hymns, prayers, and sermons seal worshipers off from the predicaments of modern society. It insists that the churches, too often laying stress on personal piety but nothing like a corresponding stress on Christian social responsibility, too often narrowly individualistic and falsely otherworldly, need to be involved in movements as adventurous and risky as that of the worker priests in France. . . .

. . . . Love of God and our neighbor inspired by Christ is the way, the only way, to commitment unlimited.(43)

(42) (unpublished), pp.75-80.

(43) (unpublished), pp.84-89.

The ministry of Robert McCracken possessed the balance which some great preachers demonstrate: the balance between heart religion and head religion, the balance between evangelism and ethics. He was quite bold occasionally in his social preaching, although he apparently was never very active in other social areas, perhaps because of the demands of a large congregation. It appears that some of his social preaching was delivered in America, but all of his background was in Scotland.

B. MODERATE SOCIAL PREACHING WITH MODERATE RESPONSE
IN OTHER SOCIAL CONCERN AREAS

The following are examples of moderate social preaching with moderate response in other social concern areas.

John Watson⁽⁴⁴⁾ (1850-1907) believed that Christians have serious responsibilities as citizens, and took an active part in public life. He did not involve himself directly in active political life, but he did not hesitate to state his views on politics. Most of his views were conservative, but he did have toleration for the views of others. He believed that the church itself should not become directly involved in political affairs, but that the local church should encourage members to take active roles in city affairs. He emphasized this theme so strongly, that often he incited his critics. Watson was deeply sensitive to the needs of the poor, and he longed for the day when they would not feel alienated from the church.

- (44) John Watson (1850-1907) was born in Manningtree, England, graduated from the University of Edinburgh and from New College, was ordained to the ministry of the Free Church of Scotland and became pastor of the Logiealmond Church. Later he became pastor of the Free St. Matthew's Church in Glasgow, the pastor of Sefton Park Presbyterian Church in Liverpool, and was elected Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England. In 1896, he delivered the Lyman Beecher Lectures on Preaching, Yale University, and lectured in the United States. He died on May 6, 1907 in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, while on a lecture tour.

He believed that government should not be idle in the face of man's needs but should become an active force for the advancement of justice in the social order. Education on all levels also received special attention from Watson, and he encouraged teachers to consider their role as one of great Christian responsibility.

One of the direct results of his emphasis on civic responsibility was that many members of his church became active in civic affairs, six became Mayors or Lord Mayors of Liverpool, and many others were prominent in the City Council. During his years in Liverpool one of the most thorough reforms ever known in any city was carried out. Every good cause seemed to find an advocate in John Watson. Soon Watson's fame began to spread beyond the limits of Liverpool, although much of his reputation was due to his book, BESIDE THE BONNIE BRIER BUSH, where he used his pen name, "Ian Maclaren."

Watson was an outstanding preacher, able to preach to intellectuals or the poor. He was evangelical but had broad sympathies which increased as he grew older. His pastoral care influenced his guiding rule that the primary end of preaching was comfort. The sermons of Watson are highly interesting to read, and his sermon "The Glory of the City" may be the finest ever preached in praise of the city. "The Divine Character of the State" and "Public Spirit" show the civic-conscious spirit of Watson.

In his social sermon "The Glory of the City,"⁽⁴⁵⁾ Watson uses Revelation 21:2 for his text. He describes cities all over the world, and then finally presses his point, that every citizen needs to do his fair share.

"Every year the welfare of the country depends less upon the House of Commons and more upon the local council. There are two kinds of revivals - the spiritual, which deals with the individual, and the social, which regenerates the community. We have had spiritual revivals in the past, we are now at the beginning of a social revival. . . .

Missions are most acceptable to-day when they care for the body as well as the soul, and set themselves to relieve the sufferings of women and children. People have ceased to care about theology, but they are ready to hear the Sermon on the Mount. They are wearying of arguments regarding Christ's person, but they have an open mind to what Christ said we should do with our fellow men.

May the day not have to come to us of which Isaiah spake to Jerusalem in the beginning of his prophecy, when he preached his social gospel? May not God have a controversy with us because, though our theology be correct, and our worship reverent, we have not done our duty by the poor and needy? What if God be calling us, not to build more churches in the cities, but to see to the houses in which His children are living; not to spend more money on organs and choirs, but to relieve the miserable and helpless? Should not the Church of Christ use her influence more directly for social ends: to settle as far as possible on the land, that we may have a contented and strongly country population; to secure in the cities that every man for whom Christ died shall have his own house where he can live in comfort and decency with his wife and children;

(45) John Watson, THE INSPIRATION OF OUR FAITH (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1905), pp.262-73.

to abolish the gross temptations of the city - the public-houses at every corner of the poorest districts, and the scenes in Piccadilly Circus; and to bring it to pass that every man who is willing to do honest work shall have a fair wage?

When, according to Isaiah, we relieve the oppressed and judge the fatherless, then, and no sooner, shall the promise be fulfilled, 'Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be as white as snow, though they be red like crimson they shall be as wool.'

It is good that a man build his own home in righteousness, and protect it with peace. He must have regard also to the commonwealth of which he is a part, and by which he has been blessed. It is needful a man care for his own soul and enrich it with good things; he must remember also the multitude at his doors who are labouring and heavy laden.

It is not enough so for us to live that at last we shall attain Heaven in another world; we must strive to bring Heaven to the city where we live in this world by filling it with health and gladness, with the knowledge and love of God. According to the words of an English prophet:

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land."⁽⁴⁶⁾

Watson's social sermon "Public Spirit"⁽⁴⁷⁾ shows his strong civic-conscious spirit, and has the text of Philippians 2:4,

"Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others."

Although he is conservative, he very strongly preaches for persons to get involved in public affairs, like the administration of the Poor Law, interesting oneself in the family life of some toiling household, sharing the management of a working-boy's institute, or doing something for the poor children of the city.

(46) *Ibid.*, pp.269-73.

(47) John Watson, RESPECTABLE SINS (New York: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909), pp.229-37.

When I plead for public spirit, I am not inviting any person to neglect his own home and busy himself with committees, or administer church matters, while his own are going to ruin. What I do plead is that our own interests should not become a prison, that we should have windows from which to look out upon the world, and a door through which we can go to its affairs. To have, if possible, some field of service outside our own home and our own business - that is public spirit in its reasonable and Christian form.

My first argument is that we cannot separate the things of others from our own. . . . You cannot disentangle one life from humanity, and split human society into units. We are dependent one upon another. . . . "Why should I spend my spare time upon the poor?" If they are neglected, I do not give much for the security of your riches. "What is it to me that a working man's son be educated?" If enough lads be left without education, then good-bye to the prosperity of the country. My argument stands on the rock of prudence; the things of other people are your own things. . . .

Has your culture taught you to take a broad view of things? Then think charitably of working men whose vision has been cramped by the workshop, and aid them from the fulness of your knowledge. According to your ability and your time, serve the great public among whom you live - in the council of the city, for instance, which can do so much, and has done so much, to establish God's Kingdom among us; upon committees which manage the elementary education of the city; and upon the boards of the hospitals, where talents of the head and heart are so much needed. Take a hand in the administration of the Poor Law; interest yourself in the family life of some toiling household; attempt a class in the Sunday-school; be an officer in a Boys' Brigade; share the management of a working-boys' institute - do something for the poor children of the city.

The doors of service are now innumerable; and my plea is that you should find the door that suits you, and enter through it into the service of your brethren. No man or woman does anything for other people in Church or State but he or she strengthens the commonwealth and saves society, and serves Christ.(48)

J. H. Jowett⁽⁴⁹⁾ (1864-1923) demonstrated a deep social concern, founding Digbeth Institute for the poor and underprivileged of Birmingham, which ministered to the whole person. Jowett's ministry was characterized by his compassion for the personal problems of people and his sermons were directed toward human hurt, above all to bring the healing balm of the gospel. He did not become involved in the theological controversies of the day, nor did he speak often concerning social issues. In his Yale lectures he stated:

I can clearly see this danger, that the broadening conception of the preacher's mission may lead to the emphasis of the Old Testament message of reform rather than to the New Testament message of redemption. Men may become so absorbed in social wrongs as to miss the deeper malady of personal sin.⁽⁵⁰⁾

And yet Jowett was not at all indifferent to social issues. He had a very deep concern for the problems which plagued men's lives in the social order. He was outspoken against war and he led the Crusade of the British Free Church for world Peace. He warned against substituting social action for evangelism, but he also recognized that a gospel which does not call men to grapple with the social problems that warp lives is not the whole gospel. He demonstrated that evangelism and social concern must go hand in hand, by his action and his preaching.

(49) J. H. Jowett (1864-1923) graduated from the University of Edinburgh, and served with distinction at the Carr's Lane Congregational Church in Birmingham. Though a political liberal, he took no part in the political life of Birmingham, in marked contrast to his predecessor, Robert Dale, who was one of the most politically active ministers in the history of the British Free Churches.

(50) John Henry Jowett, THE PREACHER: HIS LIFE AND WORK (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1912), pp.80-81.

Jowett did believe in preaching more on the grand themes of the Christian Faith, rather than on the topics of the times. But his sermon entitled "The True Imperialism" plainly shows that Jowett applied eternal principles to contemporary issues. In this sermon he speaks about imperialism, the annexing of territories, the modern novel, and the plight of the business world.

"Thou hast abundance of goods." "I hunger."
What is the remedy? Where is the satisfaction
to be found? . . .

Put some work into your listening! In the senate, in the council-house, on the exchange, behind the counter, in the study, in the pulpit, be intent on hearing the highest, and incline your ear unto God.(51)

Another sermon with social implications is "The Shield of Faith."

Such are the experiences of the man who gave his strength to proclaim the all-sufficiency of the shield of faith, who spent his days in recommending it to his fellowmen, and whose own life was nevertheless noisy with tumult, and burdened with antagonisms, and crippled by infirmity, and clouded with defeat. Can this life be said to be wearing a shield? We have so far been looking at the man's environment, at his bodily infirmities, at his activities of labour, at his external defeats. What if in all these things we have not come within sight of the realm which the apostle would describe as his life? When Paul speaks of life he means the life of the soul. . . .

He always measures life with the measurement of an angel, and thus he busies himself not with the amplitude of possessions, but with the quality of being, not with the outer estates of circumstances but with the central keep and citadel of the soul.(52)

Jowett did state:

It seems to me that some preachers have made up their minds to live in the Old Testament rather than in the New, and to walk with the prophets rather than with the apostle and evangelist.

- (51) J. H. Jowett, APOSTOLIC OPTIMISM AND OTHER SERMONS (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902), pp.26-27.
(52) J. H. Jowett, THE WHOLE ARMOUR OF GOD (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1916), pp.88-89.

Amazing differences are determined by a man's choice of central home; whether, say, he shall dwell in the gospel of John or in the Book of Amos.(53)

Jowett actually lived in both, through his social sermons and his social action. Both themes are a part of the same revelation, and Jowett did maintain some balance.

S. Parkes Cadman⁽⁵⁴⁾ (1864-1936) stressed various themes - the need for the Christian Faith, the value of the ecumenical movement, and social reform. He was a pioneer in the talkback format of preaching and was outspoken and courageous about social issues. Cadman believed that preaching should have its social dimensions as well as personal application. But in the same way that he opposed careless handling of the Scripture, he also objected to the careless handling of social concerns.

Sermons upon contentious social matters may vibrate with feeling but if they are deficient in facts and logic they are not to be excused. . . . The carp-like avidity with which some pulpiteers gulp down the latest revolutionary theory is an evidence of their intellectual inferiority or of their desire after a spurious reputation for originality. . . . Reform of any sort is not New Testament regeneration, nor is the worship of humanity the worship of holiness. . . . Greek culture was the best the earth has had, and yet its ablest modern interpreter, Matthew Arnold, reminded us that man could not live by it. . . .

Nations steeped in artistic sentimentalism and scientific lore have bewildered us by their relapses into barbarism. These moral aberrations show that social redemption has to be coordinated with individual regeneration in order that wickedness you lament may be assailed from within and from without. The New Testament has placed imprimatur on these tactics and your Master is their Supreme Exemplar.(55)

(53) Ibid., P.81.

(54) S. Parkes Cadman (1864-1936) was born in England and also ministered in New York. In 1925 he was chosen in a CHRISTIAN CENTURY poll as one of America's greatest preachers.

(55) S. Parkes Cadman, AMBASSADORS OF GOD (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924), P.119.

Cadman recommended that the surest way to overcome social ills was by a courageous, positive message rather than a negative one.

Make war on recognized evils, whether they stalk abroad or skulk in secret. . . . Upon tubercular areas, fevered dens, windowless tenements, child labor. . . . Do so in the spirit which overcomes, not by denunciation alone - a habit that may give you far more relief than it affords the causes you espouse - but by instruction and by the affirmation of righteousness. . . .(56)

In his sermon "A New Day for Missions" he preached:

Our culture must be the passion-flower of Christ Jesus. To be more anxious about intellectual pre-eminence or ecclesiastical origins than about "the trial of the immigrant" and the conditions of the coloured races is not helpful. "There is a sort of orthodoxy that revels in the visions of apocalypses and refuses to fight the beast," says Dr. Nurgan. Such barren indulgence is excluded from any glory to follow. Technicalities, niceties, knowledge remote and knowledge general must be appropriated and made dynamic in this life-and-death conflict; any that can not be thus used can be sent to the rear for a further debate.

Diplomacies in church government and adjustments in church creeds can wait on this consecration, this baptism of unction. I never heard that the statesman who formulated the peace in 1815 at Paris got in the way of the Household Brigades and the Highlanders at Waterloo and Hougomont. They played their commendable game, but they could not have swept that awful slope of flame in which Ney and the Old Guard staggered on at Mont St. Jean.

Let us redeem our creeds at the front, and prove the welding of our weapons and their tempered blades upon every evil way and darkness and superstition that afflict humankind.(57)

(56) Ibid., P.122.

(57) THE WORLD'S GREATEST SERMONS, comp. Grenville Kleiser, 10 Vols. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1909), 10:205-16.

John Baillie⁽⁵⁸⁾ (1886-1959) made references to areas of social concern in almost every sermon published.

- (58) John Baillie (1886-1959) was born at the Free Church Manse of Gairloch, Scotland; the son of a rigorous Calvinist minister.

His professors at New College included Alexander Whyte, H. R. Mackintosh, H. A. A. Kennedy and A. R. MacEwen. He heard the preaching of John Kelman at St. George's and W. M. Macgregor at St. Andrew's Drumsheugh.

John Baillie first assisted at Edinburgh's Broughton Place Church for two years. Baillie offered his services to the Y.M.C.A. for educational work during the War. In 1916 he met Jewel Fowler, who was also with the Y.M.C.A., and they were married in 1919.

He accepted the Chair of Christian Theology in Auburn Theological Seminary, New York State, for eight years where his only son, Ian, was born. Three years at Emmanuel College, Toronto, followed; and in 1930 he was appointed to the Roosevelt Chair of Systematic Theology at Union Theological Seminary, New York, for four years where he was friend to Reinhold Niebuhr, Henry Coffin, Pitney VanDusen and Paul Scherer. In 1934, Yale University conferred on him the Honorary Degree of D.D., and the same year he returned to Scotland as the Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh University.

Baillie helped again during the Second World War with the Y.M.C.A., in charge of the educational and religious work for the troops in France. The Church of Scotland appointed him as the convener of a commission of its ablest men "for the Interpretation of God's will in the Present Crisis," which reported from 1941 to 1945, and dealt with many of the social concerns of Scotland. In 1943 he was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and in 1950 was appointed the Principal of New College and Dean of the Faculty of Divinity until he retired in 1956.

He was Fosdick Visiting Professor at Union Seminary after retiring; and was given his appointment by the Queen as a Companion of Honour. During his last years, John Baillie was active in the ecumenical movement, the British Council of Churches, and the World Council of Churches, becoming a member of its Central Committee.

(John Baillie, CHRISTIAN DEVOTION, P, xxiv.)

Although he made few references to specific economic areas in his sermons, he mentioned business, money and stock exchanges in his sermon, "The Meaning of the Incarnation."⁽⁵⁹⁾ But there are few direct references to economics as a matter of strong social concern, although he was obviously highly knowledgeable about them.

The social concern area which John Baillie mentions the most frequently in his sermons is the family. He deals at length with the social conditions surrounding the family. He describes the secularization, industrialization, and scientific advancement together with their challenges to family life.

He also quotes several others concerning the significances of human life. He mentions that there is concern about. . . .

"how to make ends meet in the feeding of his family. . . ."⁽⁶⁰⁾

And then he says:

"But even if we have no household cares, no dishes to prepare and no dishes to wash, our lives still incline to the same confused pattern."⁽⁶¹⁾

He tells of how much more complex life has become during the last two thousand years. Baillie summarized by saying

"Our modern lives have enough and to spare of diversity in them, but they are sadly lacking in unity."⁽⁶²⁾

(59) John Baillie, A REASONED FAITH, pp.123-130.

(60) John Baillie, CHRISTIAN DEVOTION, p.25.

(61) Ibid., P.37.

(62) Ibid., P.69.

And he asks the question,

"Where is. . . our proud boast of belonging to a higher culture?"(63)

John Baillie also gives his suggestions for the confused family situation of his day and emphasizes its importance.

"There is first the inmost circle of my own family, and to that my attachment is greatest of all."(64)

Think of that most precious of all our national institutions - the family life of the home circle. What do you think ordinary family life would be like today if Saint Columba and Saint Ninian had never carried the Gospel to our Scottish shores?(65)

The unity of mankind is a subject about which John Baillie has much to say.

"We have broken down the old barriers of race and colour. We have developed a new sympathy towards oppressed classes."(66)

"The Jews hated the Samaritans, not because they were far away, but because, being different in race and religion, they were so inconveniently near at hand."(67)

His sermon entitled, "The Unity of Mankind,"(68) is almost wholly on prejudices.

(63) Ibid., P.66.

(64) John Baillie, A REASONED FAITH, P.5.

(65) Ibid., P.39.

(66) Ibid., P.7.

(67) Ibid., P.8.

(68) Ibid., pp.12-20.

The unity of man can neither be established in theory save as a corollary of the unity of God, nor be realised in practice save on the basis of a common worship. And on the other hand, the unity of God can never be properly understood, but must remain as a remote and speculative dogma, until it is brought into intimate relation to this other thought of the unity of the human race. . . . The Hebrews conceived of the whole human race as a single family. . . . Yet even more damaging than our unhappy denominational divisions are the secular divisions, the barriers of nationality and race and class and party, which we allow to invade the Christian fellowship, making a mockery of the unity it professes to enjoy.(69)

Baillie emphasizes the debt that we owe the Christian religion, for the hospital systems, the dignity of women;⁽⁷⁰⁾ and says that,

"All social service wrought in Christ's name and spirit is wrought to him."(71)

He deals with the problem of scientific advancement and social service.

"He left nothing outside man's control," says our text. It was His mercy that He did this; for think of all that advancing science has enabled us to do for the relief of human suffering, in healing the sick, in feeding the hungry, in clothing the naked. . . . To put the slightest brake on our scientific thought might be as fatal to the continuance of the race as the wrong application of it of which we are now living in fear; for it might prevent developments of medicine, agriculture and engineering which may very well prove necessary to that continuance.(72)

(69) Ibid., pp.12-13.

(70) Ibid., pp.37-39.

(71) Ibid., P.70.

(72) Ibid., P.98.

In his sermon entitled "The Necessity of the Cross," he states,

"Then memory returns to burden us, the memory. . . . our mismanaged human relationships. . . . We pass by the slums and the prisons. . . . Everywhere around us are the signs of selfishness and greed and social injustice and the feud of the rich and poor."(73)

Then in the sermon "None Other Name," Baillie says that we need,

". . . . a gospel which should transcend all differences of race and tongue and tribe and nation - with 'one body, and one Spirit. . . , one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and one Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.'"(74)

John Baillie has a lot to say about the relationships of a person and his neighbor and his God. He states,

"We are to stir up one another to love and to service. For Christianity is in its very essence a corporate affair. You can't be a Christian all by yourself. You cannot retire into your own shell or into your own corner and live the Christian life there."(75)

"For it is the love God has shown me in Christ that constrains me to the love of my fellow men."(76)

. . . . The love of God is somehow contained in the love of my neighbour, and the love of my neighbour in the love of God. To put it otherwise, I know that the love of my neighbour would not be the sort of love that is required of me, if it had not some such overtone as is meant when we speak of the love of God. Altruism can be a very sorry thing, if it is not pervaded by a sense of the Holy, by a sense that my life is a sacred trust. In knowing that I must love and serve my human brethren, I know also that I was put here to do this very thing, so that I have here a clue to the meaning of my own life, but some clue also to the meaning of the universal system in which I am enmeshed.(77)

(73) Ibid., P.157.

(74) Ibid., O.166.

(75) John Baillie, CHRISTIAN DEVOTION, P.53.

(76) John Baillie, A REASONED FAITH, P.119.

(77) Ibid., P.118.

John Baillie has a complete sermon on, "A Point of Law: Who is My Neighbour?"⁽⁷⁸⁾ in which he develops this truth which appears to be at the heart of his theology of society. His text is Luke 10:29, and he asserts that,

"My neighbour, then, is whoever needs my help. . . . His (Jesus Christ) desire was to lead us on from this mere natural neighbourliness to something altogether higher and more difficult, to what can only be called a supernatural neighbourliness."⁽⁷⁹⁾

. . . . He so reinterpreted the word neighbour as to make it include not only the neighbour, the man who is nearest to us, but also the farbour, the man who is furthest away from us. He did this in at least three ways. First, he insisted that, if we are to possess the highest Christian neighbourliness, we must be prepared to transcend the principle according to which our inmost circle consists of our own next of kin. . . . Secondly, as in this parable of the Good Samaritan, He taught that not only our fellow-countrymen are our neighbours, but men of other countries too, and all men everywhere need our help. Thirdly, He taught that the word neighbour in its Christian meaning must include our enemies quite as much as our friends, and those whom we naturally dislike and who dislike us quite as much as those whom we naturally like and who like us.⁽⁸⁰⁾

Baillie says that we need to have a balance in our concern, for those close to us and those far from us. He then concludes,

". . . . Who is my neighbour? . . . And Jesus' reply was that any man is my neighbour, be he Jew or Samaritan, be he near at hand or far away, if he has any need of any help that I can give."⁽⁸¹⁾

In his sermon "Christian Vigilance"⁽⁸²⁾ John Baillie puts the challenge to share in social concern.

(78) Ibid., pp.5-6.

(79) Loc. Cit.

(80) Ibid., pp.6-7.

(81) Ibid., P.11.

(82) John Baillie, CHRISTIAN DEVOTION, pp.28-35.

When we read of those who have rendered most distinguished service in God's world, we are apt to make excuses for ourselves and to say that so few chances have come our own way. But to read the life of Jesus Christ is to know that, as the hymn says:

The daily round, the common task
Should furnish all we ought to ask. . .

He (Jesus Christ) had only to hear the sob of a bruised heart. He had only to see a human body racked with pain, or a home stricken, or a life broken, or a soul going astray, in order to be aware of the divine call to service and be quite sure that just He had been sent for just that. But you and I will often stand before human need that cries out to us with a voice loud enough to rend the heavens, and yet not be stirred by the least sense of vocation. . . . WE see only a chance encounter where Jesus heard the call of God.(83)

The social preaching of Baillie illustrates more of the indirect method, since he does not come across as a strong and direct social preacher.

William Edwin Sangster (84) (1900-1960) had the motto "Service Before Services." His own approach to preaching followed these words. In his book THE APPROACH TO PREACHING he wrote:

I have tried to make my own preaching part of my life. In the week preceding the Sunday, and during the days, therefore, when I have been preparing the sermons for delivery on that Sabbath. I have tried to make them autobiographical, to live in them, to incarnate in my own life the truths I was led to proclaim, to know the thing in experience before I uttered it in words.(85)

The ministry of W. E. Sangster was a living testimony to the effectiveness of his efforts to live up to his motto.

(84) W. E. Sangster was born in London, England, in 1900, the son of working class parents. He attended Shoreditch Secondary School, then served in the First World War. In these early years, as he indicated in his writings, he definitely sensed a call into Christian ministry. Sangster studied for the ministry at Handsworth College, Birmingham; Richmond College, London; and the University of London, where he earned the B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. Degrees. The Methodist Church ordained him to the ministry in 1926. After several charges, he became pastor of the Westminster Central Hall in 1939.

He had served as minister in Bognor Regis from 1923 until 1926, in Colwyn Bay from 1926 to 1929, in Liverpool from 1929 until 1932, in Scarborough from 1932 until 1936, and in Leeds from 1936 until 1939.

(85) W. E. Sangster, THE APPROACH TO PREACHING (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1952). P.111.

Sangster's activities took him beyond the bounds of his own church. He served on the Board of the University of London. He was in charge of shelter welfare from 1940 to 1945. He wrote numerous books and articles, many of them dealing with the themes of prayer, evangelism, and preaching. In 1940 the bombing of London by the Nazis began. Sangster reinforced the basement of his church and opened it to those who had been blasted from their homes. Hundreds of persons used it as permanent quarters. Sangster and his family also made their home there; they lived in one cramped room for five years. His wife provided meals each night for those in the shelter. Sangster moved through the distressed people bringing comfort and hope. He told stories, joked, and encouraged optimism. He offered religion only when it was asked.

Soon after the basement became a home for so many, the people asked for evening prayers. These were followed by increasing numbers of religious services, as well as other activities. There was a weekly lecture on current affairs. A Saturday concert provided entertainment. On Sundays, Sangster preached to congregations that increased in size each week. In his congregations sat men and women of the lower and middle classes as well as University students and professional people.

Sangster believed in prayer, evangelism and personal ministry. In many ways he was a pietist. But he was no gloomy, sanctimonious preacher; he radiated an infectious humor almost constantly.

He had a wide range of interests, including a great concern for the social injustices suffered by the people around him. From his own early years he realized keenly disabilities that adverse economic and social conditions could impose upon people. His concern for the total needs of men and his effectiveness in meeting those needs, led to many recognitions and honors. In 1950 he was elected President of the Methodist Conference of Great Britain. Three years later he was made Chairman of the Evangelical Committee of the World Conference of Methodists, and in 1955 he was appointed as head of the Home Mission Department of the Methodist Church of Great Britain. (86)

Sangster approached preaching from a biblical perspective.

In THE CRAFT OF SERMON CONSTRUCTION he defined a sermon as

"a manifestation of the incarnate word,
from the written word, by the spoken
word."

- (86) Progressive muscular atrophy began to take its toll. By 1958 he was seriously affected. For two years he endured suffering with unlimited courage. (William E. Sangster, A DAUGHTER'S TRIBUTE. 1960. P.13. a pamphlet.) In 1960, death finally ended his magnificent life.

Sangster believed in doctrinal preaching and he resented the idea that it was necessarily dry. He admitted,

"Some men, of course, could make any subject dry! Their capacity in dehydration is unlimited. But doctrine is not dry of itself."(87)

Sangster regarded the evangelist objective as the principal concern of Christianity:

"Unquestionably, the great end of Christian preaching is to win men and women to a whole-souled committal to Christ and to their spiritual upbuilding in Him. Where the evangelical appeal is rarely or never sounded, an awful incompleteness hangs over the whole work."(88)

He insisted that evangelism should not be narrowed to mere emotional appeal nor preached to the exclusion of the other themes in the Christian faith. True evangelistic preaching would inevitably lead to social reform beginning with the individual and spreading to the church and the community as a whole. In this way evangelistic preaching exercised an incalculable influence for the good:

"In this indirect way, the evangelist may serve the explication of the social gospel beyond even his most ambitious dreams."(89)

But Sangster was equally fond of insisting that the gospel had its social implications:

(87) Ibid., P.43.

(88) Ibid., P.53.

(89) Ibid., pp.52-53.

The congregation that never hears of the social nature of the gospel will be narrow in its outlook, small in its thinking, and spiritually debilitated. . . . It is less than the truth to say that the gospel has social "implications." It is social in its nature. That man is purveying skim milk who rigidly confines himself to what he calls the "personal gospel." And it is not even "personal," seeing that "person" implies relationship. It is merely individual and engrossed with man in his separateness.(90)

Sangster believed that both evangelism and social emphasis had their place in the preaching of the gospel; but whenever one denied the rights of the other, confusion resulted. Evangelism must not be denied by the man with social concerns but neither should the evangelist deny social emphasis:

"But he will not deny as an evangelist the right and the duty of preachers more able with social problems than he is himself to deal directly with economic questions on occasion, and he will bless God for the man who can do it with assured knowledge, penetrating insight and unmistakable spiritual power."(91)

The language of Sangster's sermons is indirect, his sentences clean and uncluttered. He avoided theological jargon and hackneyed cliches.(92)

In the sermon "Drunk and Mad," Sangster preached:

Yet, surely, it is the world that is mad, and not those vital Christians who scorn convention and selfish ease. Discerning men have seen the insanity of the world getting more chronic for years.

(90) Ibid., P.49.

(91) Ibid., P.53.

(92) Ibid., P.184.

We burn food while people starve, Is that sane?
 The factories have been crammed with garments
 while the poor have lacked protection from the
 bitter winds, and all their piteous need could do
 nothing about it until someone had made a profit
 on those clothes. Is that sane? We have drifted
 into war again though it is murderous, evil,
 wasteful, and the very essence of wickedness.(93)

In the sermon "Good Without God," based of Micah 6:6-8,

Sangster explores the relationship between morality and religion:

The old problem of the relation of morality and religion is assuming a new importance in these days. People who are constantly on guard against national bias, and who have an acute concern lest they claim a righteousness of their own nation which it does not possess, are nevertheless deeply impressed by the fact that respect for the rights and liberties of others, respect for the truth, and indeed, respect for most things precious, have been manifestly undermined in those countries where religion has been persecuted or destroyed. Protests made by preachers in the piping days of peace, come back with new meaning and, in the light of current events, no longer seem the puritan patter that once they did.

Is there a deeper connection between religion and morality than common thought has been willing to concede?

. . . . But, even despite this neglect of His teaching, He has exerted such an influence on the world that it is probably no exaggeration to say that, without it, ordered existence would have perished long ago in anarchy and strife. Everybody born into modern civilisation owes Him therefore, an unpayable debt. Though the origin of hospitals goes back to pre-Christian times, it cannot be questioned that Christianity gave an immense impetus to all work for the care and cure of the sick. Schools, orphanages, homes for the aged poor, have all come to earth by the power of His influence. The only holidays the poor had for centuries were begotten by Him, and are still enjoyed at the festivals of His Church:

(93) William E. Sangster, THESE THINGS ABIDE (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1939), pp.133-41.

Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun, require Christ to explain them. When serfdom held the world in thrall, and the poor had no class-consciousness, they would have had no holidays at all too, for His influence.

. . . . And if this be true the compass of an individual life, it is not less true in the life of nations. Stifle the religion of Christ, deny the pulpit liberty to apply the gospel to social and national questions, kill or imprison her pastors, and you have wounded the community in a vital place. If nothing is done to staunch the wound, it will bleed to death. . . .

It is only a coincidence that most things precious began to decay when Christian teaching was stifled, or is there evidence here that moral strength and rectitude depend upon the plain proclamation of the gospel? An old book said it long ago:

"Righteousness exalteth a nation."(94)

(94) Ibid., pp.87-95.

C. STRONG SOCIAL PREACHING WITH STRONG RESPONSE
IN OTHER SOCIAL CONCERN AREAS

The following are examples of strong social preaching with strong response in other social concern areas.

David Watson (1859-1943) was the main architect of the Scottish Christian Social Union and one of the leading exponents of social Christianity in the Church of Scotland for half a century. Watson wrote a series of articles in the Church of Scotland newspaper SAINT ANDREW in 1901, in which he outlined proposals for the formation of a Scottish body similar to the Christian Social Union. He planned that the new body:

would gather up and focus the opinion of the Churches on social questions, and would furnish a strong and broad platform from which effective action could be taken with regard to the most pressing social problems of our time. It would evoke the enthusiasm and gratitude of the working classes. The benefit to the Church, in more ways than one would be incalculable.(95)

Thus the Scottish Christian Social Union was formed among Presbyterian churchmen in Scotland and sought similar objectives as the English body. (Temple was involved in the Christian Social Union in England.) At the founding meeting of the Union, its purpose was stated to be:

- (a) To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.
- (b) To affirm the social mission of the Church, and make practical suggestions as to how that mission may best be fulfilled.
- (c) To investigate, where necessary, the social and economic facts in different departments of the national life, and to study how to apply the truths and principles of Christianity to the problems arising therefrom.
- (d) To take action, as occasion arises, for the furtherance of specific reforms.(96)

(95) David Watson, THE SCOTTISH CHRISTIAN UNION AND HOW IT CAME TO BE FORMED, P.1

(96) Ibid., P.15.

watson claimed that the

Church is only awakening to her social mission. We are only beginning to understand the meaning and scope of Christ's social teaching. My profound conviction is that the special glory of this new century will be its social reform achievements, and if that conviction be well based then the work of the Christian Social Union will be the work of the century.(97)

There was an encouraging response to Watson's suggestion from many Established and United Free Church ministers, leading to a founding meeting on April 4, 1901, when the national organization of the Union, composed of many prominent Scottish churchmen, came into being. Local branches were set up in several of the major towns in Scotland, in the months and years that followed.

The President was the Lord Provost of Glasgow, and the Vice-Presidents included John Marshall Lang, George Adam Smith, A. B. Charteris and R. H. Story, Principal of Glasgow University. On the executive were many ministers who were noted for their active interest in social questions, such as James Paton of St. Paul's Parish Church, Glasgow, J. Wilson Harper of Chalmers United Free Church, Alloa, George Reith, David M. Ross and Watson himself.

Until it ceased publication in January 1907, the Church of Scotland paper, SAINT ANDREW, frequently commented on the activities of the Union. In June, 1901, it reported that the first local branch had been formed at Glasgow. Members of the branch at Helensburgh in October, 1901, were said to include the local Provost,

(97) Ibid., P.2.

United Free Church minister Adam Welch, and Glasgow M.P.

Andrew Bonar Law, a future Prime Minister, who was a Vice-President of the branch. In 1902, it was reported that local branches of the Union had been formed in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Greenock, Helensburgh, Dunfermline and Clydebank. Further branches were expected to be formed shortly in Rothesay and Craigmore, Alloa, Aberdeen, Perth, Dundee and several more towns.

Watson was minister of St. Clement's, a poor working class congregation, from 1886 until 1938. Very early in his ministry in Glasgow he became interested in social problems and was one of the first to advocate that the Church herself should actually engage in social work. Two years after the Established Church's Social Work Committee was formed in 1904, he became Vice-Convener for twenty-one years. In 1927, he became Convener of the Committee, a post he held until 1935. He did not regard social work as a substitute for social reform and social criticism, and played a large part in promoting the establishment of the Church and Nation Committee in 1919, becoming Convener of the Committee on Social and Industrial Life, one of the three main sub-committees, from 1919 until 1930.

He was a prominent speaker on social questions at church congresses and other official gatherings, and throughout the first quarter of the century, was the most prolific writer in the Church of Scotland on all aspects of contemporary social problems. His most outstanding works included SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND THE CHURCH'S DUTY published in 1908, THE SOCIAL EXPRESSION OF CHRISTIANITY published in 1919,

and SOCIAL ADVANCE - ITS MEANING, METHOD AND GOAL published in 1911.

This last volume, which formed the Gunning Lectures delivered in Edinburgh in 1910-1911, was concerned with the sociological factors which lay behind existing social evils, as well as the practical problems. It was a valuable contribution to the social science literature of the time. Watson was a strong critic of the existing order of society, although he disavowed socialism. As society now is, he said,

"Christianity has been frankly excluded as inapplicable and unworkable, and self interest has been accepted as the proper basis of action in social, commercial, political and international relations."(98)

He expressed no surprise at the prevalence of social and industrial unrest in society, and said it was an indication of a truly Christian inspired discontent with social wrong and the cruelty of the existian industrial system.

It is, in the last analysis, a revolt of the soul against mechanical industrialism which reduces men to things and hinders the development of personality.(99)

He said:

We want more of that Divine discontent with the existing order which is the true guarantee and the impelling motive of all true reform. It is social reconstruction on Christian lines and on a Christian basis we want which will give us a new social order marked by solidarity, unity, co-operation and mutual aid, and in which no place will be found for social caste or class war, or the extremes of wealth and want, luxury and misery, mansions and slums, culture and ignorance, such as disfigure the present social regime.(100)

(98) David watson, THE SOCIAL EXPRESSION OF CHRISTIANITY, P.32.

(99) Ibid., P.18.

(100) Ibid., P.71.

David Watson did confess that

frequently in the past religion has had the effect of making people contented with their lot, perhaps when they should not have been contented with the hovels in which they were housed, and the inadequate wages they received for their labour. . . . Unrest admittedly is better than apathy and stagnation. Where there is aspiration, there will be unrest. . . . Industrial unrest is only a part of a larger unrest, the general unrest of Society caused by deep dissatisfaction with the existing social order.(101)

In his works on social questions, Watson frequently did express the opinion that large numbers of the working classes were alienated from practicing Christianity because the nineteenth Century Church had failed to be obedient to her social mission.

In his Gunning Lectures, he declared that

many held aloof from the Church from the conviction that she has not done all she might have done for social amelioration; that she has acquiesced in, and so helped to stereotype their environment and those bad conditions under which they groan. That undoubtedly is a shortcoming for which the Church should now stand in sackcloth. She has not preached sufficiently the Gospel of the Kingdom. She has not applied Christian ethics to social, economic and industrial conditions. She has emphasized charity more than justice.(102)

When he wrote several years later, he said that the Church's

Teaching and her methods have both been at fault. Her message has been too individualistic. . . . She has not always been a home for the lowly. She inadvertently encouraged social caste, and social stratification by offering mission halls to the poor, and splendid churches to the well-to-do, a practice abhorrent to the very genius and spirit of Christianity. She has paid too much deference to wealth and rank. She has not honoured the poor as Jesus did, nor always championed their cause. She has not raised her voice as clearly and fearlessly as she might against social injustice and social wrong. Had she done so, these wrongs might never have been committed, and today the common people would have heard her gladly instead of forsaking her sanctuaries.(103)

(101) Ibid., pp.180-1.

(102) David Watson, SOCIAL ADVANCE - ITS MEANING, METHOD AND GOAL, p.298.

(103) David Watson, THE SOCIAL EXPRESSION OF CHRISTIANITY, pp.16-17.

David Watson's sermons clearly portray his social thought.

"The goal or objective of all social effort is the realisation of the Kingdom of God on earth, but it is becoming increasingly clear that our way to the Kingdom is through the individual. If the 'individual withers,' the race can not survive, Socialism has done one excellent service: it has taught us the eternal value of Individualism."(104)

He preached that:

St. Paul has clearly enunciated the Christian law of social duty in these words: "We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak." It is the duty and the privilege of the strong to succour the weak. Simply because they are strong, they ought to do so. The mere possession of strength involves such a use of it. Capacity always involves responsibility. No gift is to be selfishly used. Strength as well as wealth is a trust, a stewardship, and the faithful steward will employ it in the service of the weak. . . .

Now who are the weak in these modern days? I think first of the children growing up in our city slums, the helpless victims of fate and circumstance. An evil heredity plus an evil environment, that is the heritage of the slum-child. . . .

I plead for the slum children. They are among the weak ones of the earth whom we ought to safeguard and make strong. . . . we should so change social conditions for these little ones that rescue work, with all its costly machinery, will be unnecessary; so change social conditions that it will be possible for a child in any quarter of a great city to grow up pure and healthy and good. That is surely not too much to ask in this twentieth century for Christ.

Again, I think of the poor, the ill-housed, the ill-clothed, the underfed, waging - and often heroically and uncomplainingly waging - their everlasting struggle with poverty, many of them physically and mentally unfit to fight the battle of life at all, ignorant, untrained, inefficient, handicapped from birth.(105)

(104) David Watson, PERFECT MANHOOD, P.vii.

(105) Ibid., P.211-12.

Watson claimed that what we need is to have adequate knowledge, a broader conception of the Gospel, realization of our Lord's teaching and example in support of social work, and a fuller conception of the function of the Christian Church - as the body of Christ's redemptive purpose on earth. (106)

Again, he preached about what is needed - social knowledge, sympathy, which is the fruit of social knowledge, sacrifice which is sympathy in action, and enthusiasm and fervency of spirit which will keep the goal of social serviceableness steadily before us. (107)

David Watson strongly concluded this sermon:

The goal of manhood is reached in the very act of living the strenuous, helpful, sympathetic, sacrificial life. God's kingdom endures. There is no more fertile or inspiring thought in our day than this thought of the Kingdom of God - the dream of the poet, the watchword of the reformer, the theme of prophet and preacher, the ideal of all excellence, of all social and spiritual good, the enduring factor amidst the changing and transient. It links past and present, and binds the ages together in one grand, progressive whole. It secures continuity and permanence for all good work. Individuals pass, but the work goes on, "without haste and without rest." In this grand succession let us gladly take our place and play our part.

"Hail to the coming singers!
Hail to the brave light-bringers!
Forward I reach and share
All that they sing and dare." (108)

(106) Ibid., P.185f.

(107) Ibid., P.213f.

(108) Ibid., P.222.

In another social sermon, Watson concluded in a similar highly positive way which is characteristic of him:

Give us regenerated lives, and we shall soon see a regenerated society. Give us men full of the Spirit of Christ, and then will break in splendour the golden dawn of a truly Christian year.

"We sleep and wake and sleep, but all things move;
The Sun flies forward to his brother Sun;
The dark Earth follows wheel'd in her ellipse;
And human things returning on themselves
Move onward, leading up the golden year."(109)

David Watson strongly believed that the Church must emphasize three great social laws of Jesus: the law of Service
the law of Sacrifice and
the law of Love.

It must create the guide for public opinion, instruct and cultivate the social conscience, evoke sympathy and quicken the sense of social duty. She should encourage her members to take an interest in education, in poor administration and in municipal affairs - for in these they discharge their civic duties and exert their Christian influence. To neglect these is social sin. (110)

The Kingdom was not something to be realized only hereafter, but something to be realized here and now,

"a new world-order - spiritual, ethical, social - and the divine instrument for its realization is the Church of Christ."(111)

(109) Ibid., P.238.

(110) David Watson, SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND THE CHURCH'S DUTY, P.191.

(111) David Watson, SOCIAL EVILS AND PROBLEMS, P.176.

Walter Rauschenbusch⁽¹¹²⁾ (1861-1918) made an impact upon the lives of butchers and professors, government officials and labor union organizers, millionaires and laborers. His life altered the course of politics, theology and economics. There may have been no more influential preacher in American history than Walter Rauschenbusch. Because of this, his influence in Britain and his social preaching, some of his contributions will be briefly summarized here.

He sought to treat basic causes, rather than minister to symptoms, at a time when poverty abounded in the midst of luxury and unchecked business interests held the nation in a vice-like grip. Churches, caught in the middle of the struggle between the liberals and the conservatives, were usually silent. Then liberal theology, liberal economics, and liberal politics joined in alliance against social problems, and theological conservatives felt ill-at-ease in the struggle for social reform. In the midst of this turmoil, Rauschenbusch sounded a note for progressive social views without

(112) Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918) was born in Rochester, New York, had schooling in Germany, graduated from the University of Rochester, the German Department of the Rochester Theological Seminary, and the English Department of the Rochester Theological Seminary. He became pastor of the Second Baptist Church in New York City in 1886; became deaf in 1888; was appointed professor of New Testament, German Department, Rochester Theological Seminary in 1897; became professor of church history, English Department, Rochester Theological Seminary; published CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS in 1907; and died in 1918 in Rochester.

embracing radical theological concepts. Many of the ideas that he advocated came to pass later in the twentieth century, for example, unions, labor legislation, and tax reforms. He preached that the essential purpose of Christianity was to transform human society into the kingdom of God by regenerating all human relations and reconstituting them in accordance with the will of God.⁽¹¹³⁾

His written prayers pricked the conscience of the nation, and were published in PRAYERS OF THE SOCIAL AWAKENING. He blended piety with social righteousness, although personal evangelism superseded social redemption.

Most Christians say: Wait until all men are converted, then a perfect social order will be possible. Most social reformers say: Wait till we have a perfect social order, then all men will be good. We say: Go at both simultaneously; neither is possible without the other. They all say: Wait! We say: repent, for the Kingdom of God is at hand.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

It has been largely overlooked that Rauschenbusch regarded the pulpit as a primary medium by which the church had effective power in society. He emphasized that the church must preach about social concerns - especially property, political questions and causes of poverty and economic suffering. He regarded his preaching as a reflection of what Isaiah and Micah and Amos and Jesus preached. He believed that he was obeying the Bible, by preaching social justice.

(113) Walter Rauschenbusch, CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS (New York: Macmillan Co., 1909), P.xiii.

(114) Paul Lamourne Higgins, PREACHERS OF POWER (New York: Vangage Press, 1950), P.64.

The sermon "National Salvation" shows Rauschenbusch's use of history in practical application of Christian principles to national interests.

I am speaking of national salvation tonight. The Old Testament prophets made this their main theme. But we neglect it. . . . We have filled the world with admiration. We have outstripped England in wealth. We can put down the knives made in Sheffield and the watches made in Geneva. Just at this time there is the invention of steam. We are seeing the multiplication of human labor. The machines of Massachusetts alone do the work of two hundred million slaves. We enjoy wonderful comfort. We are used to eating bread in knights' castles that would raise a riot in the poor-house. Our clothes are luxurious. Life is longer, our general stature finer. . . .

There are dangers that we will not be true to our destiny.

- 1) Corruption in politics. Then the people do not rule; the machine does. We must have ballot reforms, and reforms, and freedom from party spirit.
- 2) Infringements on separation of church and state, chiefly from Rome.
- 3) Social inequality. In the United States this has not come from family differences, but from money differences. Here is the trial of our institutions. While there is plenty of land, where unfortunate people could go elsewhere and everybody could hope to get rich there is injustice. Many are afraid of overthrow. I am afraid of maintenance of the present.

We must remember our duties as individuals. We must take part in politics. That is not one-sided; our minds must be open. Good men must assert themselves. We must study the social questions.(115)

"The Kingdom of God in the Parables of Jesus" shows his ability at careful Biblical study, using Matthew 13, Luke 14-16, and Mark 4.

One of the religious discoveries of our day is the conception of the Kingdom of God. Just as the great teachers of the Reformation, rediscovered the doctrine of justification by faith, which had been crusted over by the clavareous deposits of scholasticism, so we today have uncovered in the teachings of Jesus the great thought that moved him and for the realization of which he wrought and suffered. Men have always talked about the Kingdom of God, and its visions have been the motive-power in many of the noblest movements of Christian history: but not till our own century, under the scientific and historical impulse of our day and with the critical methods which we have learned to apply, have men gone back to investigate patiently how Jesus himself viewed the Kingdom of God and what it meant to him.

- (115) This sermon is from Rauschenbusch's handwritten notes, from materials in the American Baptist Historical Society. (This sermon was written on April 28, 1889, only three years after Rauschenbusch's graduation from Rochester.)

One of the best sources of information is the parables. They are crystallized in form and less touched than other portions of his teaching by the blunting fingers of tradition. They will not tell us all of his thoughts about the Kingdom; but those that he did embody in that form are well preserved for our use. Let us try to gather the points of information about the Kingdom scattered through the parables. (116)

"The Social Problem, Our Problem" displays Rauschenbusch's concern for social questions and their relation to the Kingdom of God in various countries of the world.

The nature of the Social Problem.

It has been defined as the abolition of poverty. Poverty - the inability to satisfy conscious material needs.

The causes of poverty are three-fold:

- (a) In nature (Farmers of Vermont. Settler breaking ground out west).
- (b) In individual character (Man born blind. Man badly or uselessly educated, e.g., students from abroad. Mental stupidity. Physical inertia. Drunkard).
- (c) In construction of society.

(116) This sermon is from Rauschenbusch's handwritten notes, from materials in the American Baptist Historical Society. (This sermon was read at a meeting of the Brotherhood of the Kingdom in the Church of Mr. Wheat on Long Island, about 1895.)

In England, public thought is steadily advancing. In Ireland the social question looms under the political question. Land is especially an issue, also in Scotland among the crofters.(117)

In the sermon "Peace" he preached:

It is comparatively easy to understand the issue of the past; it is the hardest and rarest thing to understand our own times. In the din of voices to recognize the call of God; in the eddying swirl of movements, to discern the sweeping current of His will, that is wisdom indeed. And then to have courage and faith to seize the opportunity, and, bracing your feet against the Rock of Ages, to swing the unwilling world around; that is the true service of the Kingdom of God.(118)

"Wanted: A New Type of Layman" presents Rauschenbusch's interests in the lay movement. He was convinced that the kingdom must progress through the work of laymen.

Christianity at the outset was a lay movement. Jesus was neither priest nor clergyman, nor did he breed those within the apostles. It was a movement of laymen who were filled with a great conviction and set out to make it known. Other religions have their religious experts and their holy class; Christianity did not.

- (117) This sermon is from Rauschenbusch's handwritten notes, from materials in the American Baptist Historical Society.

(Rauschenbusch delivered this sermon many times; at the Carmel Baptist Church, New York, February 11, 1891; to German students at Hamburg, November, 1891, at Mount Pleasant Baptist Church, Newark, January 26, 1892, at Mizpah Chapel, 57th Street, March 20, 1895; at the German Church at Hoboken, April 4, 1895; among others.)

- (118) PITTSBURGH POST, 6th March 1899.

(This sermon was preached at the International Peace Conference, a movement by the clergy; it was Rauschenbusch's first sermon on the issue.)

But they came in again. One of the strangest things in Christian history is to see a clerical class grow up and walk off with all the rights and powers of the common people.

Originally the plain Christian did the speaking and praying, church discipline, administration, etc. A couple of hundred years later they were almost wholly passive. In the Catholic Church the hierarchy equals the Church. Every great reform movement of the church was an outflow of lay energy.

. . . . The scientific and the social movements are reacting powerfully on the church. . . .

The old type of religion is one of withdrawal from the world; asceticism and evangelism. We need a new type that will attack evil.(119)

It is interesting that Rauschenbusch pastored only one church for a short time. Perhaps this made it easier for him to preach social sermons, especially in America. Nevertheless, he is a primary model of social preaching.

- (119) This sermon is from Rauschenbusch's handwritten notes, from materials in the American Baptist Historical Society. (This sermon was preached on February 20, 1906, to the Men's Guild of the Third Presbyterian Church of Rochester; and again on May 22, 1906, to the Men's Club of the North Baptist Church of Rochester.)

Hugh Richard Lawrie Sheppard⁽¹²⁰⁾ (1880-1937) was assigned as lay secretary to the Bishop of Stepney after finishing college. He worked with the poor and initiated programs for their benefit. More than anything, he wanted to help the downtrodden of the world. He struggled with the question of whether this could best be done within or without the structure of the institutional church; for Sheppard, that was no easy issue to resolve.

Finally, in the light of his own experience and the wise counsel of others, he determined to become a part of the institutional life of the Church of England. In 1906 he went to Cuddesdon College to study theology. The following year he was ordained to the post of Chaplain at Oxford House, Bethnal Green; two years later he became Head of Oxford House. In this post he initiated creative ministries to all classes. He hurried about the houses of the poor cheerfully bearing a message of comfort and hope. Increasingly, he chafed under the image of a church caring more for personal security than the needs of the masses.

Soon his ability and personality gained the attention of church superiors. When St. Martin-in-the-Fields became open, he was appointed vicar. On his first Sunday at St. Martin's he declared to the people his vision of -

(120) Hugh Richard Lawrie Sheppard (1880-1937), popularly known as Dick Sheppard, thoroughly shattered the image that most Englishmen had of a typical Anglican churchman. In his churches class distinctions disappeared. In spite of his life-long ill health, he joked and laughed in his sermons and made the Christian faith real to persons in every walk of life.

"a great and splendid church standing in the greatest square of the greatest city of the world":

I stood on the west steps, and saw what this church would be to the life of the people. There passed me, into its warm inside, hundreds and hundreds of all sorts of people, going up to the temple of their Lord, with all their difficulties, trials and sorrows. I saw it full of people dropping in at all hours of the day and night. It was never dark, it was lighted all night and all day, and often tired bits of humanity swept in. And I said to them as they passed, "Where are you going?" And they said only one thing. "This is our home. This is where we are going to learn of the love of Jesus Christ. This is the altar of our Lord, where all our peace lies. This is St. Martin's." It was all reverent and full of love and they never pushed me behind a pillar because I was poor.(121)

In a striking phrase, Sheppard once said that the church often failed because it loved the souls of people but not people themselves. Sheppard had no patience with those who cared not whether people had the chance of a decent earthly existence, so long as they held the catholic faith or had good prospects of heaven. He wanted the church to become vitally related to the issues of the current world. But he did not want the church to become an advocate of any particular scheme, nor did he want the church to lose itself in worldiness.

- (121) Hazel Tourtel. ST. MARTIN-IN-THE-FIELDS:
A SHORT HISTORY (a booklet prepared by the
 parish historian of St. Martin-in-the-Fields),
 P.25.
 See also DICK SHEPPARD BY HIS FRIENDS
 (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1938),
 pp.28-29.

Many things were done at St. Martin's to make it the kind of church Sheppard envisioned. Reserved pews became a thing of the past, and people could come and sit wherever they wanted. Parts of the church were turned into overnight lodging for persons with no other place to go. The canteen was open to provide hot nourishing meals for workers in the area. A strong visitation program was introduced to contact each person living in the vicinity of the church and to let him know of the care and concern of St. Martin's. People were put to work both within the framework of the church institution and in the community. Parties were held to bring life and laughter to the congregation.

Unique services of worship were instituted. A special service in the afternoon for military men during the war proved a great success. Saturday afternoon music concerts were held. Perhaps the most exemplary service of the church was the 'People's Service' on Sunday afternoon:

Every Sunday afternoon the church was packed with all sorts and kinds of people, mostly 'tired bits of humanity, coming to learn something of the love of Jesus Christ.' When all the pews were filled, they sat wherever they could find room - on the floor, on the pulpit steps, on the step of the Communion rail, and those who found nowhere to sit just stood. The music was provided by a Guards band in the Chancel, and the service consisted of hymns, prayers, a lesson, and a very simple talk, in which Christianity was related to everyday life. . . . About 50 per cent of the Confirmation candidates every year were people who had first learnt through the People's Service what the love of God meant and that it was concerned with daily life, and they came to attend the ordinary services of the church because of what they found on Sunday afternoons.(122)

(122) Ibid., pp.146-47.

In order to reach people Sheppard utilized drama, radio broadcasts, and newspapers. ST. MARTIN'S REVIEW, the church paper, attained international circulation. He pioneered in radio broadcasting; in drama, he frequently participated as one of the actors. George Bernard Shaw, an admirer of Sheppard, said that he was a splendid actor and could have carved a great career for himself on the stage.

Apparently Sheppard achieved much of his ideal for St. Martin's.

R. Ellis Roberts described the church as follows:

St. Martin's Church became the church of the soldiers and the down-and-outs; the church of the classes and the masses; the church of fellowship and of privacy; the church of the cheerful and the church for the desperate; the church for the healthy and the sick; of the young and the old. It was the church in which the congregation was no more shocked at hearing the minister pray for street-walkers than pray for school-teachers, for crooks than for the clergy, for black-guards than for bishops; no more shocked than when the Vicar laughed and told a funny story in the pulpit. It became a refuge for the unhappy, and the home of the homeless. In short, it was a Christian church.(123)

His life was one long crusade.(124) And yet he was not the typical crusader - harsh, antagonistic, and combative.

(123) Richard Ellis Roberts, H. R. L. SHEPPARD: LIFE AND LETTERS (London: John Murray, 1942), P.93.

(124) Plagued by ill health, Sheppard resigned St. Martin's in 1926. He wrote THE IMPATIENCE OF A PARSON while in semi-retirement - a book which rattled the complacency of the Anglican church. In 1929 he accepted the deanery of Canterbury and served there until 1931 when he was again forced to resign because of ill health. In 1934, after his health improved, he became Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral. In 1937 he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University; in running for this office he defeated several notable candidates, among them, Winston Churchill. He lost his long battle with illness; death claimed him on October 31, 1937.

Though he stood for many of the things advocated by his friend, Studdert Kennedy, he approached life in a far different way. His main emphases differed from Studdert Kennedy's: where his friend stressed the economic aspects of social justice, Sheppard emphasized more the peace issue.

He helped found the Peace Pledge Union and led many pacifist demonstrations in Great Britain. He instituted program after program to accustom people to the idea of pacifism. He could not tolerate war: in THE IMPATIENCE OF A PARSON he wrote;

"War cannot be reconciled with Christianity:
there is no such thing as a Christian war."(125)

To him pacifism was an ardent adventure; he did not know if it would work, but he felt it was worth the effort.

Sheppard was an amazing minister: as a churchman, he was deeply critical of the faults of the church; as a man of wealth and culture, he sided with the poor; plagued by ill health, he led a robust life. He left his mark upon his church, upon England, and upon the world.

Ernest Jeffs heard Sheppard early in his ministry and wrote these impressions of him:

I heard him once or twice in those early days. My recollection is that I prophesied one of two destinies for this young rebel. I thought he might continue his rebellion and either inspire a big new social movement in the Church of England or gradually be blanketed and silenced by the pressure of the machine, the institution.

(125) H. R. L. Sheppard, THE IMPATIENCE OF A PARSON
(london: Hodder & Stoughton, 1927), P.52.

And at the same time another possibility came into my mind. This young clergyman had such pleasant manners and such an engaging appearance and personality that I thought I saw Success and Promotion written ominously across his brow. The Church of England is kind to well mannered and gentlemanly young clerics. . . .

Well, young Mr. Sheppard is now the Very Reverend Dr. Sheppard, Dean of Canterbury. That part of my prophecy has been fulfilled. But I am only too happy to add that this promotion has not been bought at the price of any retreat or betrayal. "Dick" Sheppard is now what he always was: a fearless critic of cold and conservative institutionalism in the Church, and of time-honored injustice and inequalities in the State.(126)

But there was another quality to his preaching, one just as unmistakable - Sheppard was an eager, impetuous preacher, given to action rather than reflection. He was impatient with conditions as they were and his preaching reflected his impatience. He was possessed by a passion for social justice. He fought in his sermons, as in his life, for what he believed. There was nothing of 'soothing sentimentalism' in the themes of his preaching, no matter how much some of his illustrations might have offended his sterner hearers. It is true that the church was packed with those who loved the warmth and friendliness of his style - people who were tired and exhausted with modern life, and who sought fortitude from the sermons of Dick Sheppard. But many came to hear him preach because of his denunciation of a dead ecclesiasticism that did not involve itself with the practical needs of suffering humanity.

(126) Ernest H. Jeffs, PRINCES OF THE MODERN PULPIT IN ENGLAND (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, n.d.), pp.274-75.

Characteristically, Sheppard listed as the one text he would preach if he could preach on no other,

"Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest";

but he never forgot the social implications of that text when preached in an urban and industrialized culture. Ernest Jeffs summarized Sheppard's kind of preaching in a penetrating paragraph:

Is Dr. Sheppard a great preacher? Not by the ordinary standards of criticism. This simple, coaxing, colloquial style is not what we have in mind when we call up memories of the princes of the pulpit. Yet there is no preacher today who does with greater effectiveness two of the primary things for which preaching exists: first, to comfort and strengthen, second, to pierce home to conscience.(127)

Sheppard enjoyed the challenge of the city more than the country:

I have been told that Sheppard had little love of natural beauty or the country; his imagination was fed by humanity; he had the rare capacity of making real to himself the personalities of others. . . . He saw the misery of people so clearly, often more clearly than they felt it themselves, that he was himself incapable of rest while it remained. He foresaw the horrors of war so plainly that he could not be quiet even for a day when something, however little it seemed to avail, could be done to avert them.(128)

Sheppard was the first famous radio preacher in England.

His successes as a broadcaster were due to his sympathetic imagination and his desire to present the gospel simply and understandably.

In every sermon he appealed directly to the individual listener,

(127) Ibid., P.278.

(128) DICK SHEPPARD BY HIS FRIENDS, pp.22-23.

as if Dick Sheppard were talking to a single person rather than to a vast audience. His subtle mingling of humor and sharp visual imagery gave his words a reality which more complex sermons would have lacked. These same qualities can be seen in his printed sermons.

Ernest Jeffs provided the best reason for remembering the sermons of Dick Sheppard:

In him, more than in any other preacher of our time, the new glory of the pulpit is illustrated - not the glory of sublime oratory or profound thought, but the greater glory of the man who stands in the midst of the people, a friend and brother, pouring out his soul in the passion of service and love.(129)

Sheppard emphasized the Kingdom in his social preaching.

Also, he did achieve a fair balance:

All that we are asked is, so far as we can in difficult times and difficult days, in wealth or poverty, illness or happiness, to be alive unto God. That is all.

I think it is the most wonderful thing in the world to be a minister of the Christian gospel, because we know that if ever we are able to help, it is only because Christ has been able to make His way through us, and when we have failed and fallen, we know that we have Him again to stand by our side and give us fresh hope and fresh courage.

All I have tried to do this afternoon, all humbly in your presence - and I say that in sincerity and not as the kind of thing that ought to be said from the pulpit - is to encourage you and myself in not spreading our energies too far afield, not attempting to have too many great programmes of every kind for the alleviation of everything and every kind possible except ourselves, but as we love our God in Christ, to take our stand in Christ, for Christ and by Christ. Christ in our hearts, lives, eyes, souls. That is all.(130)

(129) Ernest H. Jeffs, Op. Cit., P.282

(130) CHRISTIAN WORLD PULPIT, 29th April, 1937.

William Temple⁽¹³¹⁾ (1881-1944) has been described by

(131) William Temple⁽¹³¹⁾ (1881-1944) was born October 15, 1881, in the Bishop's Palace in Exeter, England. His father was to become Bishop of London and ultimately Archbishop of Canterbury.

From Rugby, Temple went to Oxford where he continued his studies and proved his ability as a scholar. In 1904, he was elected a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and Lecturer in Philosophy. He displayed an increasing interest in social issues.

Temple was made a Deacon in 1908, and ordained a priest in the Church of England in 1909.

In 1910, he took a post as Headmaster of Repton School and became Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

His preaching ability soon gained wide recognition. In 1914, he became Rector of St. James, Piccadilly, London, where he moved in ever-widening circles of influence. Preaching, social work, and ecclesiastical involvements consumed his time.

He served as Chairman of the Westminster branch of the Christian Social Union.

Temple's social concern steadily increased. He demonstrated at every opportunity that he believed the Church of England must awaken to the needs of the poor and the downtrodden.

He became Bishop of Manchester in 1921; prior to this office he had served two years as Canon of Westminster. In 1929, he became Archbishop of York. In 1942, he was elevated to Archbishop of Canterbury.
(Ibid., P.245.)

Joseph Fletcher as

"the most renowned Primate in the Church of England since the English Revolution. It was the life span of sixty-three years for a man whose role in the Church was unique and influential beyond any equal."(132)

He was an excellent communicator of Christian concepts, he displayed great interest in the ecumenical movement, and he was a Christian social reformer. His efforts were dedicated to providing better education for the masses, economic improvement for workmen, better labor relations for all, and improved care for children. He clearly set forth the theme of his social emphasis in CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL ORDER, a popular book published first in paperback in 1942. In that book he wrote:

The claim of the Christian Church to make its voice heard in matters of politics and economics is very widely resented, even by those who are Christian in personal belief and in devotional practice. It is commonly assumed that Religion is one department of life, like Art or Science, and that it is playing the part of a busybody when it lays down principles for the guidance of other departments whether Art and Science or Business and Politics.(133)

Temple soundly refuted this compartmentalized concept by his life and by his writings.

- (132) Joseph P. Fletcher, WILLIAM TEMPLE:
TWENTIETH CENTURY CHRISTIAN (New York:
 Seabury Press, 1963) P.234.
- (133) William Temple, CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL ORDER
 (London: SCM Press, 1950), P.9.

Toward the end of CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL ORDER he states:

There is no hope of establishing a more Christian social order except through the labor and sacrifice of those in whom the Spirit of Christ is active, and that the first necessity for progress is more and better Christians taking full responsibility as citizens for the political, social and economic systems under which they and their fellows live.(134)

Attention has centered on his work as a cleric, as a philosopher, and as a theologian. But he was also a distinguished preacher. Ernest Jeffs argued that Temple should be remembered as a "Prince of the Pulpit" as well as a "Prince of the Church":

"He is probably the ablest preacher that has ever filled either of the provincial thrones."(135)

Temple seldom spoke on strictly personal issues; no doubt his official position influenced his choice of subject matter. He addressed himself to wider issues, to larger concerns; but he believed in applying these truths to the personal level of experience.

(134) Ibid., P.100.

(135) Ernest Jeffs, Op. Cit., P.219.

Temple believed that evangelism could only take place in the twentieth century against a backdrop of social concern; he felt that social action was 'pre-evangelism.' Because of the nature of the modern world, Temple believed that the Christian had to learn to demonstrate his love in the social world, in that complex world in which modern man really lived. If modern man had lost his interest in individual salvation, it was because he saw no transformation of the society about him through Christian effort. The first-century world was preoccupied with the question of individual salvation and life after death; the early church manifested Christian love by dealing with men on the level of that concern. Modern man, according to Temple, is now preoccupied with the chaos of society; modern Christianity must therefore demonstrate the genuineness of its love for man by dealing with the threatening problems of society.

Temple believed that if the church showed its power and effective love in the social areas of life, modern man would seek to learn the secret of this transforming power; then the church would have the opportunity to lead him into individual regeneration in Christ. But Temple did not believe that either preachers or ecclesiastical organization could accomplish this task of evangelism: it must be accomplished by laymen. In his preaching Temple laid great stress upon the importance of evangelism and called it the distinctive challenge of the church for this age.

His approach to evangelism is typical of Temple's general approach to preaching. He did not ignore the role of the individual, but he was not a pastoral preacher. He did not attempt to solve problems on a strictly individual basis. Naturally preaching of this sort did not lend itself to illustration; Temple rarely referred to individual experiences at all. The few illustrations he used were historical, but he showed real genius in his use of those. He rarely painted word pictures, yet he was a master of language. His sermons were excellent examples of beautiful ideas, rather than colorful pictures or lovely sentiments.⁽¹³⁶⁾ He was as passionately devoted to the concepts of the Christian faith and their usefulness for human life as other preachers have been to the mystical experience of the faith.

- (136) We might expect this kind of truly intellectual preaching to require the preparation of a complete and weighty manuscript, laboriously worked and tediously delivered. Nothing could less describe Archbishop Temple's preaching. He did not use a manuscript; if he carried anything at all into the pulpit with him, it would only be a small half sheet of notepaper with a few headings on it. He was as much at home in the pulpit as on the platform, and he felt no sense of restraint in preaching. "People ask me," he once said, "whether I am not wearing myself out with all of this speaking. The truth is that what wears one out is not what one does but what one doesn't do." (Frederic A. Iremonger, WILLIAM TEMPLE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: HIS LIFE AND LETTERS (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), P.483.) He found it no more difficult to speak five times a day than once a day, and he was known to decide on his subject with only five minutes' notice.

His biographer said of his approach:

"To this it should be added that he possessed to an unusual degree those qualities by which an audience is moved and held - obvious authority, intense conviction, and a mastery of words which placed him among the most lucid teachers in Christendom."(137)

Perhaps Temple was at his best in his chatty radio talks.

In "The Armour of God" Temple preached on war:

To win the war is not enough. We long to make, this time, a true peace and a better world. We long to see the nations dwelling side by side as members of one great family, enriching one another by their varieties of material resources, of tradition and of culture. We long to see all citizens within each nation united in the fellowship of real brotherhood. We have an experience of that brotherhood in the war in our unity of purpose and in the fellowship of suffering, a fellowship lately brought home to us when the Duke of Kent died on active service, uniting the Royal Family with the simplest and humblest in the common sacrifice. But this real brotherhood of man can only be actual and lasting for those who know God as the one Father of all men, in serving each other because His love embraces all.(138)

In "The Sovereignty of God" Temple emphasized the Kingdom as love:

Is the Divine Kingdom, then, something which will be actual in the future but has no actuality now?

(137) Ibid., P.485.

(138) William Temple, THE CHURCH LOOKS FORWARD, pp.86-90.

Assuredly not. In the course of individual lives and in the history of nations, God asserts His sovereignty by the judgments which follow neglect of His law. "Morning by morning He bringeth His judgment to light; He faileth not."

. . . . The Kingdom of God is the Sovereignty of Love - since God is love. That great proclamation brings comfort and courage to all those hearts that are attuned to it; for if God is Love, then Love is the ultimate power of the universe, and every purpose or policy promoted by Love - by the desire to serve rather than to gain - will reach its fulfilment, whatever the sacrifices that may first be required of it, because it is allied with the supreme power. But the proclamation that God is Love is not only a source of consolation; it is also a principle of judgment; for every purpose or policy that is alien from love and is based on selfishness or acquisitiveness is bound to end in disaster, because it is resisting the supreme power. . . .

Such a vision may be prophecy if we will have it so; the conditions to be fulfilled by us, who now thank God for our King and Queen and for their coronation, and seek to dedicate this Empire to His service, so that in heart and policy and act we fully acknowledge the Sovereignty of God. "Thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen."(139)

"God's Call to the Church" is another Temple sermon where he mentions economic problems:

At least in our own nation the Christians of every denomination and every social class could come together in conferences both local

(139) William Temple, THE HOPE OF A NEW WORLD (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942), pp.119-25.

and national to seek under the guidance of their common Lord the solution of our economic and industrial problems. And some steps are open to us here and now.(140)

"Other Worldliness" points out the need to balance social concern with pietism:

Thus Wilberforce, the hero of the abolition of the slave-trade, explains in his PRACTICAL SYSTEM OF CHRISTIANITY, that Christianity makes the inequalities of the social order less galling to the poor, largely by insisting on the shortness of the time during which such inconveniences have to be endured in comparison with the eternity of happiness to which the Christian looks forward.

. . . . And it is not so very long ago, as I have been told, since a speaker declared in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, amid much approbation, that "It is no part of a Christian's duty to make the world a better place; this world is a mere stage through which we pass on our way to glory." That probably strikes us as an almost ideal expression of the view we desire with all the passion of our souls to repudiate.

Over against that older view is the conviction that we are called as Christians to the service of God here and now; that on earth as in heaven His Name is to be hallowed, His Kingdom to come, and His Will to be done. . . .

The Christian's duty in regard to slums is not merely to tell the inhabitants that their squalor is of small consequence because soon they will pass to the house of many mansions, but to abolish the slums. The Christian's duty in regard to sweated-labor is not merely to comfort the oppressed with the reminder that earthly conditions are transient, but to destroy the system which makes sweating possible. . . .

(140) William Temple, FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD (London: Macmillan & Co., 1920), pp.145-56.

There are two supreme problems that will have before long to be solved. One is international; one is industrial. Both are in the last resort moral questions.(141)

Temple was one of the primary men in the areas of social theology and social leadership. His influence is still felt, especially in Britain.

(141) Ibid., pp.205-19.

Geoffrey Anketell Studdert Kennedy⁽¹⁴²⁾ (1883-1929)

from the beginning of his ministry showed the relevance of the gospel to the deepest needs of man and society. He was a fighter - a fighter for social justice and human rights. At Rugby, as one of the many curates on the staff of the parish church, he immediately began to minister to the down-and-outs. His unconventional sermons shocked the hearers. But his superiors supported him in his stand.

While at Leeds he developed his punchy speaking style.

Encouraged to enter the free-for-all forum of the public square, he quickly became a favorite of the masses. He soon learned what people listened to. And he used everything he had learned in the streets when he stepped into the pulpit to deliver a sermon.

The poverty which had surrounded his youth and early parish service, along with his experiences of the horrors of war,

(142) Geoffrey Anketell Studdert Kennedy (1883-1929) had the nickname "Woodbine Willie," given to him by the battered troops of the British forces to whom he ministered in World War I. The name suggests that he was loved and respected by the common people, and also that he was a fighter.

This Anglican priest was born in Leeds on June 27, 1883, the son of the vicar of a downtown Leeds parish. He grew up among the desperately poor, and as a boy encountered the two basic passions of his life, the church and social reform. Throughout his life he would minister in places where these interests were met most urgently; he was a curate at Rugby in an industrial neighborhood; later he became his father's curate in his slum parish in Leeds; next he became vicar of St. Paul's, Worcester, where he ministered to three thousand persons in a poverty-stricken area; and during World War I he served as a chaplain.

Though noted for his unconventional speech and shocking manners, he had been reared in a cultured home and attended fine schools. A brilliant scholar, he took two first-class honors in 1902 at Trinity College in Dublin. Two years later he was awarded a silver medal at Trinity for scholarship. His training at Ripon Clergy College stretched the horizons of his mind and deepened his intellectual ability.

darkened Studdert Kennedy's preaching with the blackness of tragedy. He emphasized the God who suffered; he stressed the Cross more than the Resurrection. In spite of his bursts of laughter, frequent practical jokes, wisecracks and funny stories, his life and sermons lacked something of the sunshine of hope.

After the war he joined another army - the growing army of men and women dedicated to rooting out social injustice in England. He threw himself into the task with a fury. As a messenger for the Industrial Christian Fellowship⁽¹⁴³⁾ he roved across England speaking to huge meetings. He applied the teachings of Jesus Christ to such social issues as war, poverty, industrialism, politics and marital breakdown.

His earliest social concern was the plight of the poor. He had seen what the bleak industrial environment could do to human life. He had seen men's spirits broken by poverty and injustice. He knew what it was like to live constantly in the black night of economic despair. He could not keep silent; his prophetic voice rang out again and again against the cruelty and injustice of the economic system in Great Britain.

Yet he never believed that men's lives could be totally salvaged by adjusting an economic system. He realized that malformed human personality rested at the root of the trouble. He cared about man's relation to God, because he knew if that relationship were right, it would create a new man who was concerned about an old and corrupt order.

(143) The Industrial Christian Fellowship was formed by the amalgamation of two existing bodies, The Christian Social Union and the Navy Mission. It was notable in the work of improving industrial relations.

He attacked churchmen who used pious fronts as excuses for doing nothing about poverty. Sometimes his sermons became somewhat similar to the social preaching of medieval times in the use of sarcastic criticism. In a blistering sermon in his book entitled LIES! he declared:

There is one class of people who make me feel as that old lady felt (a desire to strangle) and that is the class who meet all plans to abolish poverty with a superior smile, and the words, "Impossible," "Human Nature," and, finally, "The poor shall always be with you."

There is more real blasphemy in those words than in the most lurid Sergeant's speech that ever turned the air of Flanders blue. It is sheer bland atheism. It would make Christ blaze at its dishonest stupidity, as it makes the ordinary man in the street swear.(144)

He also rebuked the institutional church for its part in the poverty of England. He warned that the masses would revolt from a church

"which damned souls to build churches, sweated work-people to endow charities, and manufactured prostitutes by low wages to build rescue homes for fallen women and buy a peerage."(145)

Studdert Kennedy's concern for the poor ran deeper than mere words; he took a personal interest in the poor. He seemed drawn to them. He went among them not out of a sense of duty, but because he desired to do so. He really cared for the tattered, downtrodden wretches crowded into teeming slums, cared as few men have cared. Once when he found an old invalid trying to rest on a hard couch, He fetched a pillow and sheets, and ultimately a whole bedstead, which he carried through the streets himself. He wandered in and out of the flophouses and bars. Wherever he went he brought compassion and encouragement. He comforted the dying, cheered the

(144) G. A. Studdert Kennedy, LIES! (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1919), p.42.

(145) Horton Davies, VARIETIES OF ENGLISH PREACHING, 1900-1960 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p.113.

hopeless to look forward to a better day, and tried to encourage the drunks to a better way. The people loved him.

Often an indication of a man's true concern is where he puts his money. Studdert Kennedy put his money with the poor. He gave it away with such utter abandon that his friends often feared for his own bankruptcy. He gave all the proceeds from one of his enormously successful books to the St. Dunstan's Fund, a fund for the blind.

Studdert Kennedy was no shallow popularizer of a social gospel; he grasped too clearly the depth of a man's sin to be dragged into any false optimism. And he was too serious to be content with froth in his speeches. He read and studied about economic forces and conditions. Later, as he shifted his intellectual interest from economics to psychology, he studied deeply again. His interests were broad. He devoted sermons, books, and poems to such issues as the nature of the church, the claims of Christ, the church and the world, labor-management relations, class struggles, poverty, political corruption, war, sex, narcotics, and a multitude of similar subjects.

His hard-hitting approach gained him many enemies: some disliked him because they misunderstood him; others disliked him because they understood all too clearly what he was saying. But those who knew him best never doubted his sincerity and his utter unselfishness. The following account by William Temple is a description of Studdert Kennedy's approach and personality, and also a tribute to the selfless ministry of "Woodbine Willie":

I distrusted what then seemed to me an affected violence of language; he appeared to rejoice in administering shocks to respectability for the mere fun of doing it. In other words, I thought of him as a conscious poser. It is hard now to believe; but the fact is so. I was already fascinated by his brilliance, nearly always in agreement with his argument, greatly impressed by his intellectual grasp of his subject; yet I wished he would not say things just as he did. Then I made his acquaintance.

My wife and I were the guests of the Headmaster of the King's School at Worcester, and he was to meet us at dinner. He arrived very late, and we had begun the meal. He sat down, very hot and rather breathless, and talked without a pause for about twenty minutes. Then he abruptly fell silent, and scarcely uttered another syllable for a period almost as long. He had arrived keyed up by the effort of hurrying; talked continuously and delightfully so long as the impulse moved that way; when it was expended, he ceased till it stirred again. There was a convincing sense of utter unself-consciousness. It was the exact opposite of all that I had expected. Neither speech nor silence was for effect. He was not thinking about himself at all. He did not know he was there. Self played no part.(146)

He gave himself so unselfishly to the tasks of relating the message of Christ to the hurt of the world that he pushed himself toward an early grave. Never healthy, his body was racked by the pains and disability of asthma. Yet he refused to slow down. Then, in 1929, shortly before his forty-sixth birthday, he died of influenza. In a whirlwind of activity he had packed more into his brief life than most men do in a full life span.

(146) Leonard Cutts, ed., THE BEST OF G. A. STUDDERT KENNEDY: SELECTED FROM HIS WRITINGS BY A FRIEND (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1947), P.16.

Kenneth Mozley, Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral and a longtime friend of Studdert Kennedy, summed up his approach to life:

He aroused enthusiasm but never through courting the breeze of popular favor. He aroused opposition and refused to modify his message to avoid it. He was brave enough to try to tell all sorts and conditions of men the truth as he saw it. And, finally, he combined in a most remarkable manner a very vivid and rich personality with an absence of that self-centeredness. . . . He was not busy with himself, but with the work which he had to do. His entire lack of self-consciousness was, if expressed positively, just that simplicity of nature which leaves no room for the obtrusion of self.(147)

The sermons of Studdert Kennedy are impressionistic, abrupt, shocking, intensely emotional, sometimes racked with anguish, sometimes stubbornly tenacious, sometimes exploding with fiery vision. There are no other sermons in the Christian tradition quite like those of Studdert Kennedy.

Studdert Kennedy was so natural and casual in his manner of preaching, so much a part of the congregation, that his sermons seemed unstudied examples of natural rhetoric. Nothing could have been further from the truth:

To most who heard him his speaking appeared to be brilliantly extempore. In fact, it was nothing of the sort. Meticulous preparation backed by a powerful memory was of the essence of it.(148)

All of his preparation did nothing to make his sermons more orthodox. He seldom used a scriptural text, at least not in the usual sense of the term:

(147) Ibid., pp.237-38.

(148) William Purcell, WOODBINE WILLIE
(London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1962), P.196.

I have for some time now, whether in sermons or lectures, abandoned the practice of preaching from a text, partly because I believe that a text divorced from its context is often an enemy of truth, and partly because I found by experience that when I began in the ordinary conventional way, saying that in the tenth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel and in the fourth verse, you find these words, people had a tendency to compose themselves as for long and uninterrupted slumber.(149)

Obviously this method of using Scripture does not lend itself to exegesis or exposition. He rarely used historical Bible settings or biblical background details. Nor did he emphasize biblical phrases or terms.

Because he was preoccupied with the vexing questions of his day, he usually followed a problem-solution approach to the sermon. He would begin with the social problem and work toward the solution, usually using the one-point technique, which can be quite effective today in social preaching.

His conclusions are never summaries. Studdert Kennedy's sermons build toward an emotional climax. Since he usually followed a one-point, impressionistic development, it is often hard to tell where the body of the sermon ends and the conclusion begins. It might be more accurate to say his sermons have endings rather than conclusions; but the term doesn't matter - whatever they are, few men have ever stopped a sermon with greater force than Studdert Kennedy.

(149) G. A. Studdert Kennedy, THE WICKET GATE
(New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928), P.153.

Studdert Kennedy was a master of style. He used shocking statements and imaginative poetry to capture the imagination of his audience. His preaching represents a genuine break-through in the art of communication. Sometimes his words soar with eloquence; at times they thunder with wrath and social passion. His vocabulary could paint a sunset. There is a quickness and urgency about his style, an irrepressible zeal that cannot be boring, whatever else it is.

The sermons of Studdert Kennedy are like the paintings of Picasso: it is difficult to describe them - they must be seen to be believed.

In "Beware of Christ!" he preached:

From the beginning of history the stronger peoples have exploited the weaker ones, invading their territories and either exterminating them or reducing them to the position of serfs or of slaves; and they have done this without any qualms or scruples of conscience. We may take it as a mark of progress that the stronger can no longer exploit the weaker without protest, and that the welfare of the weaker peoples has become a matter of public concern and debate. . . .

Beware of Christ. Because his power is bigger than you think. He has got hold of all sorts of people who never name his name. He has got right into the hearts of the civilised peoples of the world, and his laws and his dreams hang around them. There are thousands who curse us parsons, but they curse us because we are not Christian enough. Lots of men who never bow the knee to him - he has gotten hold of them, and he is weakening them, undermining their primitive power, undermining their savage force, and making them dream dreams of justice and the hope of a better world. It is a fatal dream unless God means it.

If God does not mean that this world should become a finer and nobler place, that men should be built up into some sort of brotherhood resting ultimately upon justice, then it is a fatal and deadly thing to try - it is only one of these ideals.(150)

Kennedy preached that people were more important than profit, that business must become more responsible, and that our economics must be tested.

In "Lead Us Not Into Temptation," he said:

There never was so great a need, as there is today, for personal religion - conscious contact of the individual soul with that soul's Saviour. The call to redeem the world - the call of the full social message to the building of the Kingdom - means not less, but more, personal sanctification; not less, but more care and caution, lest we, who preach and seek to save others, should ourselves become castaways.

. . . . We must oppose ourselves relentlessly to all false and superficial ideas of education; and first of all, to the idea that education is confined to schools, and that factories, mills, workshops, theatres, streets and the homes of the people are not educational institutions. Knowing, as we do, that the factor of suggestion is far more potent educationally than the factor of information, we can have no sympathy with the present-day over-emphasis on the intellect in the training of old and young. The actual information, imparted in our schools, matters much less than the atmosphere in which it is imparted; and the atmosphere of the schools matters much less than the atmosphere of those places in which our people, of necessity, spend the greater part of their lives. The factory exists, not merely to produce cotton, but to produce character. This may not be business, but it is truth. To produce a great quantity of cotton at the expense of a bad quality of character, is to produce, not wealth, but poverty. Constantly we must cry over our working people, "Lead them not into temptation, but deliver them from evil";

(150) THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY, December 4, 1924,
Christian Century Foundation.

and we must remember that the answer to our prayer will come in the inspiration that God gives us, so to order their working conditions, so to tackle and solve the intricate problems which industry presents, that it may become the means of producing, not quantities of cheap goods, but multitudes of fine people. Nobody wants grandmotherly legislation, or any attempt to produce virtue by law; but we must see to it that vested interests and money power do not prevent the real voice of the people from being heard, and their real will to better things having its effect. . . .

If we want to produce clean people, we must give them decent houses, decent factory conditions, decent wages, and the sense that they work, not merely for their wage, but for their country and their God. . . .

We can lie in business, we can lie in war, we can lie in politics, we can lie in commerce - get that far, and there soon won't be anywhere where we cannot lie. The law of love is not allowed to operate in business, or in war, or in politics, or in finance; very soon it won't apply to anything. The sanctity of vows has ceased to apply to marriage, or to treaties between nations, or to agreements between employers and employees; in fact, it is a little doubtful where it does apply - certainly nowhere its application is in the least inconvenient - we tend to regard it as ridiculous, to keep a vow once it hurts us.

If there is in any country a solid body of people who are living with God and holding fast to Him, their life can, for a while, support a large number of careless and godless moral parasites who feed upon their vitality; but once the parasites get the upper hand, the body politic becomes rotten and is destroyed: and there is a very real danger in these days lest the parasites may get the upper hand. Because we love and fight for the 'bottom dog,' there is no need to sentimentalise over him, and paint him as an angel. The bottom dog is very often a thoroughly 'dirty dog,' ignorant, credulous, cruel and full of hatred. The fact that it is not altogether his fault does not make him any different from what he is, or any less dangerous, nor does the fact that it is partly his own fault relieve us of responsibility for him.

To point out that the bottom dog is often lazy, thriftless, incompetent and loose, and then dismiss him with a shrug of the shoulders, is the attitude of a fool. All this applies with equal force to many of the top dogs, who have reached the top, but still remain dogs and dirty dogs. That they should be at the top is a greater peril than that the others should be at the bottom. It is easy to get out of the trouble by sweeping generalisations which enable you to take sides and shift the blame to someone else. It is easy to say that the workers are work-shy, and the employers greedy, and so turn the problem into a battle. It is always easy to get out of thinking and praying by fighting, always easy - and always useless and mean. But with that sort of nonsense Christianity can have nothing to do. Always and ever we must be making an effort, so to order our world that our people be not led into temptation; and so to educate them, that, in such temptations as they must meet, they will have God to deliver them from evil.(151)

In "Lies and Drugs" he preached:

We are very tired and very irritable, and we want to get back to business as usual, beer as usual, pleasure as usual, sleep as usual, and wake up in hell as usual. You can see it coming. The great mass of people are calling out for the common drugs - women, beer, and business, and the social reformers are drinking deep of the drug of furious action based on no principle and no purpose. The one side want to change nothing and the other to change everything, but God alone knows what they want to change it for. Every one is really clamouring for more drug to dope themselves with. We are falling back on the old lies. Mutual distrust and suspicion, class-war fostered and formented from abroad, selfish greed and personal ambition for power, are putting all industry more and more on a war basis. Talk about the great moral ideals for which we fought is hackneyed now, and platitudinous. Everybody tends to take all that for granted, which means that they do not take it at all.

(151) G. S. Studdert Kennedy (London: Hodder & Staughton, 1923), pp.212-30.

Democracy - that great word which was worth a war to keep in the dictionary - is being degraded as usual into a name for free drug stores, free pleasure, free leisure, free comfort, free everything. Get all and pay nothing. Why, doesn't the Government do it?(152)

"The Church in Politics: A Defense" is an excellent example of social preaching:

The idea that politics in the true sense - that is, the art of managing our human relationships on a large scale - must remain a separate department of life, distinct from morals and religion, is ultimately irrational and absurd, and is an idea with which no responsible teacher ought to have anything to do. We have a right to demand of educated and responsible critics who earn their living and are paid to help people to think and act rightly that they should be scrupulously careful in what they say and use terms carefully defined. . . .

. . . . Because of the critics of the Industrial Christian Fellowship and myself, like all other men, live through and on the labor of our neighbors, and are fed, clothed, and housed by them, we can not remain Christian without pondering over and endeavoring to adjust our relations to them and their relations to one another in the light of the Christian gospel or good news.

. . . . There is a sense in which economics and politics are and must ever remain branches of ethics, ethics being the science of conduct, and it is inaccurate thinking and bad teaching to lose sight of that fact. . . . What about the sweet sanctities of homes in Southward and in the mining villages and the innocence of little children who sleep ten in a room? Can you really enjoy the glory of your own children, and not be concerned with these other things? Neither morally nor intellectually would that be respectable teaching. . . .

He can be redeemed only as a member of society, and immediately he is so redeemed the burden of setting right his human relationships is laid upon him.

That is the meaning of bearing the cross. As soon as I say, Christ is my Saviour, and as soon as I see him in the world, and the world in him, which is the meaning of conversion, at that moment do I become acutely conscious of the injustice, cruelty and oppression involved in my relationships, as a white man to coloured men, as a comparatively strong man, in the sense of

being able to affect my environment, to comparatively weak men, and as, by inheritance, a comparatively fortunate man to comparatively unfortunate men. . . . so the labor movement, the Conservatives, the pacifists, the imperialists, and all the other ists and isms would like to get hold of Christ and use him for their purposes. He must not so be used and can not so be used; and I am sick to death of saying this. It is true that if the Church falls into the hands of any section or party, it will be crucified, and not crucified with Christ, but crucified with the thief who suffered justly as the due reward of his sins. Christ must not and can not be used merely for temporal ends. . . .

Salvation begins here on earth and must be wrought out with fear and trembling in the sphere of our present human relationships, wrought out through our daily work, our trade, our commerce, our finance, through the use and abuse of our money, through the use and abuse of our money rights, of our property, of our property rights; and there has never been any other idea in truly Christian teaching but that that must be so. . . . Our purpose is the purpose of our Lord, our method is the method of the prophets, and our only strength is in his grace.(153)

Kennedy was an outstanding social leader of his time, although not a trained social thinker. He was the messenger of the Industrial Christian Fellowship for nearly ten years, in the line of succession from Stanton, Dolling and Wainright, identifying the Church of Christ with the cause of the poor by his own selfless devotion to, and understanding of, their needs. Unemployment and deepening distress had followed the brief period of prosperity, a circumstance that widened the public knowledge and appreciation of his work. This, and his courageous attacks upon the apathy and complacency of the comfortable, constituted his practical social message.

(153) HOMILETIC REVIEW 91 (Jan.- June 1926): 53-57.

(This sermon was preached at the annual service of the Industrial Fellowship in St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London.)

This chapter has demonstrated clearly, that the impact of the preachers cited, plus their unmentioned colleagues, was considerable in changing the social awareness, consciences, policies, laws and regulations of the period. (154) (155)

The next chapter will be based largely upon this chapter for illustrations. Actually, the following chapters will provide more of the summary themes and primary conclusions for this chapter, which has studied some of the relationships between the general social responses of clergymen and their social preaching, during the first half of this Twentieth Century.

(154) Some of the more prominent American preachers who showed evidence of social preaching include the following: Charles Jefferson (1860-1937), Charles R. Brown (1862-1950) Billy Sunday (1862-1935), Henry Sloane Coffin (1877-1954) Harry Emerson Fosdick (1878-1969), Halford Luccock (1885-1960), Ralph Sockman (1889-1970), George Buttrick (1892-), Norman Vincent Peale (1898-), Billy Graham (1918-), and Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968).

(155) Norman Vincent Peale (1898-) is an example of a clergyman who had difficulty keeping a balance in his social response. Early in his ministry he became involved in political issues and supported specific candidates. From time to time he repented of this position and pulled away from active participation in politics. But frequently after a short recess he was back in the midst of political activity. There needs to be an appropriate balance in social response.

CHAPTER V. IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL PREACHING

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A. THEOLOGICAL THEMES

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In reading countless sermons, I have concluded that many preachers who made an impact on the world were those who spoke on the social issues and needs of the day. Many conclusions have already been suggested, but there are some definite theological themes, homiletical techniques, and psychological approaches which may be concluded as implications for social preaching today. This study has deeply enriched my own life experience. I have found myself very close to these men and their labors for God. My faith in the preaching of the church and in the Kingdom itself has been strengthened by my acquaintance with their ministries. It is my prayer that this same spiritual experience and social tradition may come to others, in that they may be encouraged toward the relevant social proclamation which characterized the preaching of many of these heralds of God.

It is hoped that the author of this thesis can rewrite it in order that it can be published, perhaps under the title, "The Courage to Preach," as a guide to social preaching and the recovery of the responsible social pulpit.

A. THEOLOGICAL THEMES

1. Earlier Theological Trends

The first half of this century was a time of new theological trends and movements within the church, seeking either tighter or looser orders. The church was going through a period when she had to define her own position, and this was obviously affected in many instances by political events. The social gospel came as a result of American activism, Old and New Testament studies, continuation of interest in social matters after slavery, the rebirth of the Christian Socialist movement in Great Britain, eighteenth century humanitarianism, liberal tendencies in the theology of the times, an inherent concern for social justice, gains made in social psychology and social policy, ethical studies, and the influence of political economists and journalists.

The social gospel was to some extent a defense mechanism called forth by the attack upon religion by labor leaders, sociologists and reformers. The church had to come to terms with pietists, who had postponed efforts for social regeneration until the inauguration of the reign of Christ. There were also battles on other theological fronts. A new theology was the result. The theological concept basic to early pronouncements of the church was the Kingdom of God. From Morse's book THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST, to Ritschl, to Rauschenbusch, and from the Tractarian sacramental view of the universe and the profound incarnational theology of LUX MUNDI, we see at least two theological trends, both of which include a view of human personality

never quite reached before - of man who is a child of God, the Father, and is therefore brother of every man. At this point, the democratic idea is projected into the kingdom of God with the doctrine of equality. In this world men have the promise of a kingdom realized in fellowship in a universal society, or through the sacraments of the church, or in acts of Christian charity. Christ is Lord not only of the past and the future, but also of the present. Thus the pulpit of the church grew stronger in speaking of the social issues of the day. It had been influenced by many factors and now spoke unceasingly with a clarity and effectiveness.

We note, however, that churches caught in the middle of the struggle between the liberals and the conservatives were usually silent. Then liberal theology, liberal economics, and liberal politics joined in the alliance against social problems, and theological conservatives felt ill at ease in the struggle for social reform. In the midst of this turmoil, Rauschenbusch sounded a note for progressive social views without embracing radical theological concepts.

2. Specific Theological Themes

We have seen many possible themes such as: brotherhood, charity, gospel, incarnation, justice, kingdom of God, neighbor, salvation and others. However, by way of summary, the primary theological themes include those of gospel, kingdom of God, justice and love.

One primary theological theme in social preaching was that of the law of love, including the themes of neighbor, oneness and brotherhood. John Baillie was very strong in proclaiming the unity of mankind. Baillie had a lot to say about the relationship of a person and his neighbor and his God. We have already looked at John Baillie's sermon entitled "A Point of Law; Who Is My Neighbor?" We have seen that some preachers very strongly emphasize the oneness of mankind, while others scarcely mention this theological theme.

The following sermon is a delightful example of preaching on the theme of brotherly love. It is "The Noble Order of St. Andrew," by Stuart Robertson of Lisbon, based on the text of St. John 1:41f,

"He [Andrew] first findeth his own brother. . . .
and he brought him to Jesus."

In St. Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh there is a beautiful chapel: it is the chapel of the Knights of the Thistle. That is Scotland's chief order of knighthood, like the Order of the Garter in England.

Now the Order of the Thistle is also called the Order of St. Andrew, for St. Andrew is the patron saint of Scotland, and the jewel of the Order bears a figure of St. Andrew on his cross. Legend says that St. Andrew preached Christ in Greece and Russia, and was crucified on an X-shaped cross. In the fourth century a Greek monk called Regulus brought the bones of St. Andrew to Scotland, and landed in the east of Fife, where a church was built and a town grew up round it called St. Andrews.

Scotland adopted St. Andrew as her patron saint, and his cross as her national flag, and when James I founded a Scottish Order of Knighthood he called it the Order of St. Andrew.

Now the legends about St. Andrew may, or may not, be true. We don't know. But what we do know about him is that he was the first missionary of our Lord Jesus Christ; that, when he had found Jesus for himself, he went and found his brother and brought him to Jesus. 'He first findeth his own brother Simon . . . and he brought him to Jesus.'

I don't know whether St. Andrew's bones ever came to Scotland, but I would like to think that his spirit is in Scottish folk. I know it is in some, and I want to tell you of two who were, in the very finest sense, knights of the Order of St. Andrew.

The first was a little Glasgow girl. Like many poor children she had to be something of a little mother and a little more, as well as a little sister. One day she was carrying her little brother to the park and he was nearly as big as herself. A friend of mine spoke to her, and said, 'You've got a heavy burden there.' She replied finely, 'Its no a burden; it's ma wee brither!' Reckoned in pounds avoirdupois, and in terms of her slender arms, it was a heavy burden; but because behind her muscles was the strength of a loving heart she could carry it gallantly and gladly, not a burden, but her brother. A little Knight of the Order of St. Andrew.

The second was a little Dundee boy. It was a bitter morning of frost. The ground was iron and the wind was icy. A bunch of boys were gathered for a morning meeting, and as they were before their time and the door wasn't open, they were doing a bit of drill to keep themselves warm. A passer-by watched them for a while, and noticing one of the bigger boys without a coat, spoke to him. 'Aren't you cold without a coat?' 'No, I'm no.' 'Would you be the better of your coat?' 'Mebbe I wud, and mebbe I wudna.' 'Have you not got a coat?' 'Aye, I've a coat.' 'Well where is it?' 'Ma wee brither's got it on.' Another Knight of the Order of St. Andrew. He didn't feel cold because he had taken care that his little brother should be warm. Do you remember how once Jesus was tired and hungry by a well-side long ago and how He forgot His own hunger and weariness in His concern for a poor woman whose heart was tired and hungry? 'I have meat to eat that ye know not of,' He said to the disciples; and the Dundee laddie had a source of warmth and comfort the kindly passer-by knew not of.

That sort of thing is the best proof that any one has found and come into living touch with Jesus Christ. He came seeking His brothers to bring them to God; and His spirit in any one sets them off at once on the same task. That is Christianity. That sends missionaries abroad, and moves people at home to care for the poor, to bring warmth to cold hearts and comfort to the comfortless, and never feels these things a burden because 'it's ma brither.'

There are only sixteen Knights of the Thistle; and you and I can never have our names on its roll, its jewels on our breast, or a stall in its Chapel. But we can all be members of the noble order of St. Andrew and have its jewel in our hearts; for its jewel is Brotherliness and its motto is not 'Nemo me impune lacessit' - which is a prickly motto well befitting a thistle! - but, 'Andrew first findeth his own brother. . . and he brought him to Jesus.'(1)

In the theological theme of the kingdom of God, we also see a similar theological continuum, ranging between the kingdom of God within us and the kingdom of God in society. Sheppard emphasized the kingdom in his social preaching and did achieve quite a fair balance. David Watson and William Temple emphasized very strongly the kingdom of God as love in society. Donald Baillie talks about a crusade for the kingdom of heaven and frequently uses this phrase, or the kingdom of Christ or the kingdom of God. Stewart also frequently uses this term, as in his sermon "Thine Is the Kingdom," but his emphasis is more personal in approach than it is social. We have seen that David Watson and William Temple emphasized the nowness of the kingdom of God.

(1) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 50, 1938, pp.78-9.

Among the stronger social preachers, the theological theme of the kingdom became an almost messianic and very high concept of social Christianity. The following is an excerpt from a sermon entitled "The Kingdom," which is an example of this high view. The author is unknown, however, H. Hensley Henson's book, THE KINGDOM OF GOD, was quoted in the sermon. The text was St. Luke 17:20-21, concerning the kingdom.

St. Luke relates that on one occasion the Pharisees asked Christ bluntly when the 'kingdom of God' was coming. The phrase was both familiar and very suggestive. It had perhaps been taken over from the Book of Daniel, and had come to stand in common usage for the fulfilment of that great expectation of national triumph which the prophets were understood to authorize. It is essentially the same question which the Apostles are reported to have asked on the Hill of the Ascension when they came to their risen Master, saying: 'Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?' To this question which plainly had behind it so great a volume of popular faith and feeling, Jesus made reply: 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo here! or, There! for lo, the kingdom of God is within you.'

This short, pregnant sentence, 'the kingdom of God is within you,' has been understood in two ways, for the Greek admits of two renderings. We may read 'the kingdom of God is within your hearts,' or 'the kingdom of God is actually present in your midst.' The difference is not so great as it sounds. The difference is whether our Lord had in view the rightful state of men's hearts, or rather was thinking of those disciples in whom that rightful state already existed, He was bent on disallowing the notion of an external system in which men as they actually were could be gathered, and which the question of the Pharisees implied. The Jews were eagerly looking for a social upheaval or political revolution which would suddenly enthrone them as the world's rulers, and thus establish Jehovah's Kingdom on earth.

All the mischief to their minds lay in the conditions under which they were living; they never suspected that it had a deeper and nearer root in their own sinfulness. Christ pointed them to a transformation of men's hearts, slow, silent, searching, from which, by an inevitable consequence, the whole intercourse of society should be cleansed and exalted.(2)

Another primary theological theme in social preaching is that of justice, which brings up the love and justice issue, including the just wage. We have seen that some preachers emphasized that charity was needed for the poor, while others have strongly emphasized justice by the sharing of wealth in some way. Reinhold Niebuhr, in his MORAL MAN AND IMMORAL SOCIETY, says we can no longer buy the highest satisfaction on the individual life at the expense of social injustice; we cannot build our individual ladders to heaven and leave the total human enterprise unredeemed of its excesses and corruptions.(3)

Reinhold Niebuhr (1892-1971) entered actively into efforts to transform the social order. Pronouncing the doom of the capitalist society, he participated wholeheartedly in the activities of the Socialist party. He visited strikers, talked to unions, walked in picket lines and entered political campaigns. Later he dismissed what he called "utopian illusions" and broke with the Socialist party. But he did not cease his political activity. Scores of political organizations felt his influence.

(2) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 45, 1933, P.85.

(3) Reinhold Niebuhr, MORAL MAN AND IMMORAL SOCIETY, P.277.

Niebuhr insisted upon the failure of man to create his own utopian society, personal or corporately. Interestingly enough, with all of his emphasis on the social aspects of the gospel, Niebuhr was scathing in his denunciation of the social gospel. Perhaps he did not recognize clearly enough certain valuable contributions of that moment, particularly as expressed in liberal theology, but he was devastatingly accurate in revealing its limitations.

Niebuhr believed that the first business of the Christian church is not to find an answer to all questions of a moral and political nature; the church's first business is to raise and answer religious questions, within the framework of which these practical moral issues can be solved.

Perhaps Niebuhr was too pessimistic about the church's role in social reconstruction; but if so, it was because of the wide gulf in all of his thinking between the ideal and the attainment of it. The tone of his own sermons is always one of challenge, never of despair.

Niebuhr was convinced that the Kingdom is not of this world; that is, the world is constantly denying the fundamental pattern of life, a pattern that sin obscures and that Christ restores. But the Kingdom is of this world, in that it is not some remote realm of eternal perfection which never touches human experience. It constantly affects man's every decision and must be involved in his every action.

Reinhold Niebuhr once wrote an article for Life Magazine which criticized Billy Graham for various inadequacies, among them his neglect to explore the social dimensions of the Gospel. He admitted that Graham had sound personal views on racial segregation and other social issues, but Niebuhr alleged that Graham almost ignored all of them in his actual preaching. Niebuhr was undoubtedly right in reminding Graham that the great revivals of Finney had been accompanied by equal emphasis upon the issue of slavery. In his "Proposal to Billy Graham," Niebuhr suggested that Graham's sincere appeal should be coupled with a strong ethical emphasis. Graham took Niebuhr's criticism seriously - though it must have stung at the time - and increasingly touched on the complete spectrum of social issues, from the racial controversy and juvenile delinquency to alcoholism and housing. Graham later acknowledged his debt to Niebuhr:

"When Dr. Niebuhr makes his criticism of me,
I study them."

3. The Relation of Evangelism to the Social Gospel

In the recent film "The Presbyterians" made by the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, there is strong emphasis upon our two-legged gospel including both ardor and order, both individual and social salvation. We have seen that some ministers have tended to emphasize the individual gospel, while others have tended to emphasize the social gospel, and still others have maintained a fairly good balance between the two. Temple believed that evangelism could only take place in the twentieth century against a backdrop of social concern, which he felt was pre-evangelism or demonstrating God's love in the world. If man had lost interest in individual salvation, it was because he saw no transformation of the society about him through Christian effort. Modern Christianity must demonstrate the genuineness of its love for men by dealing with the threatening problems of society. Temple believed that if the church showed its power and its effective love in the social areas of life, modern man would seek to learn the secret of this transforming power. Then the church would have the opportunity to lead him into individual regeneration in Christ. Social concern and action should be first. Then people would be interested in the church, after seeing the transformation of society because of the church. Laypersons could then accomplish the task of evangelism.

On the other hand, Kennedy cared about man's relationship to God because he felt that if religion was right, it would create a new man who was concerned about an old and corrupt order.

He thus attacked churchmen who used pious fronts as an excuse to do nothing about poverty.

Donald Baillie revealed quite a thorough theology of society throughout his writings and sermons. He hit very hard at individualism as just selfishness, and promoted a sense of social responsibility. In the sermon entitled "The Community of the Holy Spirit," Donald Baillie devoted the sermon to the clarification of the social gospel question asking, "Is Christianity an individual gospel or a social gospel?" He concludes that the answer is both, and both together. They can't be separated or they both go bad. He asserted that Pentecost religion became a more deeply social thing than it had ever been before.

Stewart portrays a deep concern about the proclamation of the gospel and has the strong stance in favor of evangelism, with his central preaching themes being the incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ. But he has little to say about the social implications of the gospel. Both Morgan and Gossip were more conservative. Gossip believed that if the individual is transformed first, then society would be transformed, because better persons would create a better society. Jowett felt that evangelism and social concern must go hand in hand, or else the whole gospel was not being presented. Sangster also believed that evangelism and social emphasis should go together. Sheppard held to a kind of balance between the two themes, although his style and emphasis was apparently more toward the social.

4. The Relation of Religion to Morality

The relation of religion to morality has always been a more controversial one in theology. For example, strong social preachers have usually based their preaching on the premise that all of society has some kinds of moral and immoral meanings. The realm of the kingdom of God involves every part of society, according to such men as Rauschenbusch, David Watson, Temple and others. The following is an interesting social sermon which deals with this question. The preacher is M. M. Hughes.

We must moralize social relations. - During the last hundred years intellectual progress has outstripped moral progress. There has doubtless been an advance of moral enlightenment, but an increase of moral energy and power is not so obvious.

. . . . It is a good thing that industry has been organized and that the prosperity of the country has been built on sound foundations, but industrialism has brought with it certain attendant evils which are not necessary - slums, sweating, extremes of wealth and poverty, class strife, the ethics of the Manchester School, the deification of wealth, and the materialization of the standards of life. If we are not careful, machinery will drive us instead of our driving it. Our intellectual achievements outstrip our moral achievements.

That is where the unmoralized intellectual leads us. We cannot build up a new society on scientific categories alone. The intellect must be moralized. We need a strength which is not our own if the spirit of man is to triumph over the blind forces which the intellect has liberated. We must bring 'every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ.'

We must emphasize the fact that the ideal social order can only be built on spiritual foundations. - In the last analysis, all our problems, social and international, are problems of the mind and heart and will. We cannot solve them unless we can produce a fundamental change in human nature. If Capital and Labour would both act on the Golden Rule they would find a straight path out of their difficulties.

. . . . Our zeal for social reform springs from our recognition that all men have a spiritual nature. Because we all have immortal souls, we all have a right to a share in shaping the environment in which our souls have to live and grow.(4)

And then the author concludes by preaching that these are great days of opportunity for refashioning society, but that it will not be easy - it will be a desperate battle.

"It is for us to take up the challenge, to throw ourselves wholeheartedly into the fray, and to seize this opportunity of branding on the fabric of the social order the marks of the Lord Jesus."(5)

We have already quoted from a sermon by Sangster in which he asserts that there is a direct relationship between religion and morality. He builds a case that moral strength and rectitude depend upon the "plain proclamation of the gospel," and that "Righteousness exalteth a nation."

The following quotation is from a sermon entitled "The Christian Rule of Life." It reveals the prevalent view that the basic social morality is of God.

At the same time the divine right of the State in its true sense is upheld and enforced in the Christian teaching. Some organization of society is necessary for the moral order of things, and so

(4) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 39, 1928, P.418.

(5) Ibid., P.419.

the Christian faith in practice has been the strongest bulwark of the authority of the State, that men may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. Constituted authority has rights over us by virtue of our existence. The social order is of God: law and its representatives have their source of power in God; and it is the duty of Christians to give honour and willing obedience in so far as conscience permits. This is a lesson of our Lord's own life, who came not as a revolutionary and advocated no political propagandism, and who pointed to duty to God as the great standard and test of all life.

The text may be read not only as a plea for obedience to lawful authority and the recognition of the supremacy of the State, but also as a plea for active interest in public affairs by all who have pledged themselves as citizens of the Kingdom of Heaven. This is especially so in a democracy, when government after all is the embodiment of the people's will, when it is representative of ourselves. If we blame it, we have only ourselves to blame. It has claims on us: we have duties towards it, and what have we done to make the kingdoms of this world the Kingdom of God and His Christ? If we complain of civic or national government, if we lament about public life or social needs or reforms or the want of reforms, if we sneer about politics as a game, a sphere for personal ambitions, whose is the fault? The responsibility for the State, the law, politics, and social conditions is ours. The gospel is concerned with soul first, but the life that is offered to God must spend itself in the service of men.(6)

(6) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 48, 1936, P.77.

5. More Recent Theological Movements

T. S. Eliot has written:

The church exists for the glory of God and the sanctification of souls. . . . It wants everybody, and it wants each individual as a whole. It therefore must struggle for a condition of society which will give the maximum of opportunity for us to lead wholly Christian lives, and the maximum of opportunity for others to become Christians. It maintains the paradox that while we are responsible for each of our own souls, we are all responsible for all souls.(7)

Eliot portrays an equilibrium in his theology, a balanced theology in the area of these theological themes.

More controversy has ranged around what is called the social gospel than any other section in the classification of the subject matter of sermons. There are those who would make it the whole substance of preaching. There are others who would exclude it from the pulpit altogether. Social preaching would include the fighting of social evils, but also the out-working of the Bible doctrine of society in the community and the world, involving the most complex problems of economics, of social policy and of international relationships.

The Church of Scotland had been traditionally socially conservative. But we have seen a resurgence of social awakening, evidenced in social sermons, publications, social action, addresses and pronouncements. Throughout the nineteen twenties, most Scottish churches carried on a vigorous criticism of various aspects of

(7) Arthur Cowan, THE PRIMACY OF PREACHING TO-DAY, p.33.
Quoted from T. S. Eliot, THE IDEA OF A CHRISTIAN SOCIETY.

contemporary social, economic and industrial life. In 1920, the first report of the Church and Nation Committee contained another strong indictment of these same industrial systems. Claiming that the teaching of Christ provided a standard by which the present order could be tested and judged, the report presented a statement of those teachings which pertained to industrial life:

1. The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.
2. That every soul is of infinite value in the sight of God.
3. That men are more than things, that personality is sacred, and must not be subordinated to material gain.
4. That labour is honourable and should be justly and adequately remunerated.
5. That fidelity and loyalty in word and work is an imperative moral duty.
6. That life should be lived under a solemn sense of stewardship, and in accordance with the three great Laws of Love, Sacrifice and Service.(8)

Concerning the existing industrial system, the report stated that in so far as it violated these principles or made their operation difficult, it was unchristian. David Watson was a convenor of the Church of Scotland's Church and Nation sub-committee on social and industrial life and was one of those strongly influenced by the social and theological liberalism of the post-War period.

The Wars brought a maturing of social criticism. By the late twenties, much of the superficial optimism that had marked both social and theological liberalism in the post-War period had begun to fade. Hope in the coming of the kingdom of God upon the earth as a result

(8) REPORTS ON THE SCHEMES OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1920, P.526.

of God-inspired human effort lessened as the idealistic basis of such liberalism was challenged by realistic thought. This decline of liberalism was hastened by the shattering events of the nineteen thirties, total depression and total war, when such a theology with its romantic conception of the kingdom of God had so little to say in the midst of the tragedies of the time. This process of decline was quickened in the nineteen thirties by the revival of the more biblically-centered reformed theology, which drew its inspiration not only from its own earlier Scottish reformed tradition, but also from new theological movements, sometimes loosely referred to as neo-orthodoxy, on the Continent and in the United States.

On the Continent the new movement was associated with the names of the Swiss theologians Karl Barth and Emil Brunner. It represented a reaction against the rational religion and the natural theology of liberalism, with its exalted views of the nature and possibilities of man, and its idea of God immanent in man and in culture, working out His will through revolutionary, moral, spiritual and social progress. The new movement sought to lift contemporary theology out of the sphere of human and spiritual values into the category of divine revelation. It stressed the uniqueness of the judging, saving word of God, which stands over and outside man and human culture. Consequently, it urged a more realistic social ethic, based on a biblical understanding of the sinfulness of man, and of the real possibilities as well as limitations of Christian social action.

Karl Barth, in 1915, under the influence of two theologians who headed the Swiss Christian Social movement, joined the Social Democratic Party. But by September of that year, he had become thoroughly disillusioned with the movement. In a letter to a lifelong friend, Eduard Thurneysen, he wrote,

"The religious social affair is out,
getting serious with God begins."(9)

Reinhold Niebuhr, reviewing AGAINST THE STREAM, reacts strongly to Barth's decision made in the assertion of freedom:

In short these essays reveal political naiveté, posing in the guise of theological sophistication, together with a consequent incapacity to make any prudent or sensible political or moral judgments. The whole performance prompts revulsion against every pretension to derive detailed political judgments from ultimate theological propositions. When a man lacks ordinary common sense in reacting against evil, no theological sophistication will help him. He may even, as Barth, think that the distinction of moment for Christians is that the Nazi tried to corrupt Christianity while communism only tries to kill it.(10)

In making actual decisions, Barth drives men away from the position upon which he is trying to build.

J. H. Oldham saw how impossible this position was, that in fact, to think that we exercise such complete freedom is an illusion.

Reinhold Niebuhr, who reveals the sinful pretensions of human reason to establish natural law, has often been represented as denying the efficacy of reason and of natural law. He is so aware of the character of human sin, that he declares there must be a radical criticism of all systems and principles and laws.

(9) "Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Barth: A Sequence,"

THE HIBBERT JOURNAL, (October 1951) P.32.

(10) Reinhold Niebuhr, "The Peril of Sophistication" (Book Review), CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIETY, (Autumn 1954): 19,29.

The transcendence of the love commandment provides a perspective under which all of these are kept in their proper places. There can be no social ethics without 'the contribution of reason' but

'reason can do no more than synthesize the given forces of a human situation into some kind of harmony.'(11)

Love is both the criterion for all judgment and also the law of life, but ultimately love ceases to be love if it is law, if it is obligation. Love presupposes a soul which is sinless, but because sin is a factor in all human existence, there comes the love commandment, 'Thou shalt love. . . .' Yet no one lives by the law of love.

'The love commandment is not only an ultimate criterion of judgment upon all human actions which fall short of love. It is also a guide for the approximations of justice and love which make up the woof and warp of everyday existence.'(12)

KARL BARTH AND RADICAL POLITICS is a recent book edited and translated by George Hunsinger. Now for the first time its available in English, translations of some of Barth's early political writings and the controversial article by Friedrich-Wilhelm Marquardt,

"Socialism in the Theology of Karl Barth,"

with significant responses by Helmut Gollwitzer, Hermann Diem, Dieter Schollong, Joseph Bettis and George Hunsinger. This volume seeks to clarify Barth's theological position as it related to his radical political views. This would appear to be a good possible subject for another thesis. However, we have not seen in this thesis, any strong social preachers who were also strongly influenced by Karl Barth.

(11) CHRISTIAN FAITH AND COMMON LIFE, Ox. Ser., Vol.IV, pp.92-93.

(12) Ibid., pp.78-79.

The influence of American neo-orthodoxy in Scotland in the nineteen thirties and forties came particularly through the writings of Reinhold Niebuhr, and was especially applicable to the field of social ethics.

The Church of Scotland gave her warm approval to the social security scheme known as the Beveridge Report. This report, published in December 1942, formed the basis of the modern welfare state which came into being between 1946 and 1948. The Report recommended a comprehensive national health service, unemployment insurance, national assistance, workman's compensation and family allowances. LIFE AND WORK MAGAZINE in January 1943, declared that the Report marks a long step toward that social security for all classes which is one of the great aims of all good government. One is glad that the proposals are on such a massive scale. Any mere tinkering would have been worse than useless. Apart from modifications in detail which may prove necessary, the general purpose of the scheme will assuredly commend itself to a church which knows only one answer to the question, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' The General Assembly said they welcomed the Beveridge Report, believing that the adoption of its proposals would go far to provide the necessary safeguards against the worst forms of poverty, preventable ill health and the evils attendant on unemployment. They were concerned that it be put into force as soon as possible.

The church preaches the present kingship of Christ over all things and remains as a living witness to the kingdom which has broken in. She must show society by word, by pronouncement, and by action that this is so; that society too has a hope, but a hope which chastens and judges all the pretensions of society. For it may be that God will not leave a stone standing at the latter day in the upbuilding of the new society. For the present, the church works for the change of society into one which is more tolerable, more just, and more responsible, wherein dwelleth righteousness. That which is now visible in the church may become visible in the world when the kingship of Christ is acknowledged in every heart, by every class, nation and race; and in all places in the earth.

B. HOMILETICAL TECHNIQUES

1. The Views of Homiletical Writers

Books on homiletics, other books on preaching and lectures in this field are in partial or direct disagreement on social preaching. Some churchmen strongly urge preaching on social subjects.

Andrew W. Blackwood wrote PLANNING A YEAR'S PULPIT WORK. He has a chapter on "Preaching Bible Ethics", in which he also deals with preaching on social issues.

An ethical sermon is a sort of searchlight for the layman's soul. Partly for this reason the false prophet leaves such delicate issues severely alone. While he may be a kind of Biblical preacher, he never elects anything ethical. However, we need not think much about him, for he never reads this far in a book about a teaching ministry. On the other hand, there is a fairly large school of devout believers who keep exhorting one another to eschew pulpit ethics, so as to preach the simple Gospel. To them in all kindness Phillips Brooks would say: "No powerful pulpit ever held aloof from the moral life of the community it lives in. . . . When a strong, clear issue stands out plain, the preacher has his duty as sharply marked as that of the soldier on the field of battle." (13)

Arthur Cowan, as the minister of the Inverleith Church, Edinburgh, delivered the Warrack Lectures for 1954 entitled THE PRIMACY OF PREACHING TO-DAY. He strongly suggests social preaching:

Our preaching should express Social concern,
and insist that the gospel does not stop at re-
deeming individuals but proceeds to redeem society.

(13) Andrew W. Blackwood, PLANNING A YEAR'S PULPIT WORK, p.128.
quoted from Phillips Brooks, LECTURES ON PREACHING
pp.137, 142.

The Christian religion is not content with personal salvation but advances to social salvation. The slogan, "No politics in the pulpit," is long out of date, but the church should never allow itself to be captured by any political party and become the advocate of its programme. The Christian view is always larger than any state policy and so it is not partisan. What is the Christian aim? It is a transformed social order which will honour and obey the Lord of love. That being so, how can anyone who is committed to Jesus Christ be indifferent about industrial conditions which stunt and crush workpeople for whom He died?(14)

John Kelman, as minister of St. George's United Free Church, Edinburgh, wrote THE WAR AND PREACHING, in which he has a complete chapter entitled "The Preacher as Statesman." He asserts:

You cannot preach to the individual rightly unless you include his relations with society. If this be so, it is not enough to concentrate your preaching "wholly" upon the individual, and to hope that through him you will ultimately form and guide a public conscience. Social preaching also is demanded, bearing directly upon social, national and international themes.(15)

James Reid delivered the Warrack Lectures on Preaching, entitled IN QUEST OF REALITY, when he was the minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Eastbourne. He said

"A large part of our message, then, will have to deal with our social, industrial and international life."(16)

Other churchmen suggest preaching on social subjects occasionally.

W. Edwin Sangster, as minister of the Central Hall, Westminster, wrote THE CRAFT OF SERMON CONSTRUCTION in 1949. He recognizes the controversy concerning social preaching:

(14) Arthur Cowan, THE PRIMACY OF PREACHING TO-DAY, p.28.

(15) John Kelman, THE WAR AND PREACHING, p.127.

(16) James Reid, IN QUEST OF REALITY, p.106.

Some preachers are so enamoured of one kind of preaching, and so equipped by study and temperament to employ it, that they tend to deny the legitimacy of all others. . . .

Still others say: "We live in an age of overwhelming social concerns: social preaching is the clamant need of the hour." . . .

More controversy has raged around what is called 'the social gospel' than any other section in the classification of the subject matter of sermons. There are those who would make it the whole substance of preaching. There are others who would exclude it from the pulpit altogether.

Let us make sure, first of all, what we mean by the term, and then it will not be difficult to see that both extremes in this controversy are wrong.

Two segments of preaching are really covered by this phrase.

First, the fighting of social evils: the campaign of the Christian conscience against those sins which entrench themselves in strong vested interests and batten on the moral degradation of men and women, e.g., intemperance, gambling slums. . . .

Secondly, the outworking of the Bible doctrine of society in the community and the world, involving the most complex problems of economics, of sociology, and of international relationships.

Both aspects of the subject bristle with difficulties, though it cannot seriously be doubted that the second are more complex than the first.(17)

I feel that it is of great importance for us to realize how many outstanding ministers and homiletical writers not only recognized social preaching as a valid form of preaching, but were also strongly in favor of it, and preached social sermons themselves.

(17) W. Edwin Sangster, THE CRAFT OF SERMON CONSTRUCTION, pp.23-40.

Dr. R. Leonard Small, minister of St. Cuthbert's Parish Church of Edinburgh, delivered the Warrack Lectures on Preaching in 1959 in which he stated:

A sermon must at times be topical, dealing straightly with some great issue of the moment, like some pronouncement on the vexed question of nuclear weapons. What the preacher has to say on such a problem ought not to be coloured, merely or mainly, by his own political opinions, whatever shade they may be, but rather, compellingly and unmistakably by what he believes about Christ, about His place and power in history, about the new bad conscience He has given and still gives to mankind. A man may well find it laid on his soul and conscience to preach on subjects that are "difficult" and not quite "nice," such as legislation, currently debated while these lectures were being prepared, for cleaning up vice in the streets of our large cities. Surely no such sermon can be adequate without some reference to our Lord's searching words about the streetwalkers going into the Kingdom before the "unco guid," the ultra-respectable folk of His day, and without leaving the final emphasis on His patient and passionate concern for the last, the least and the lost. A sermon which carries no reference, direct or indirect, express or tacit, to the Gospel Christ preached, or the good news of His salvation, cannot really be a truly Christian sermon.(18)

David H. C. Read, as Chaplain to the University of Edinburgh, delivered the Warrack Lectures for 1951, entitled THE COMMUNICATION OF THE GOSPEL, in which he said:

There is thus, inspite of the various ways in which the Church is caught up in the processes of the modern world, a strong pressure upon us to retreat from our responsibilities, and to deny our solidarity with the world for which Christ died. Even if we are aware of the falsity of the antithesis between spiritual and material, we may still be tempted to seek escape. For it is hard to accept our full involvement. The moment we seek to embody our Christian faith amid the ambiguities of our social and political life we shall certainly find trouble, and we shall surely make mistakes.

(18) R. Leonard Small, WITH ARDOUR AND ACCURACY, pp.28-29.

It is easier to lead a prayer-meeting than to prepare a report for the "Church and Nation Committee." It is easier to preach on the sovereignty of God in glowing images and thrilling illustrations from ancient history, than to suggest its application to the contemporary scene. It is easier to devise a beautiful Remembrance Day Service than to face the problems of the Church's attitude to war.(19)

H. Hensley Henson, as Canon of Westminster and Rector of Saint Margaret's, Westminster, and Sometime Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, wrote THE LIBERTY OF PROPHECYING, in which he declared:

We may add a practical consideration, which may commend the argument in some quarters where theoretical considerations carry little weight. Whatever moral impressiveness may attach to the preacher's action, when at a crisis he gives free course to his personal convictions as to the rightness or wrongness of specific policies, will depend on his ordinary aloofness from party politics. The preacher who is continually delivering himself on political issues in the superlative language of fervid assurance has no reserve of power to draw upon in those rare but decisive moments when a clear voice of disinterested guidance is the service which the nation requires from the Christian Church.(20)

Thomas M. Morrow wrote in WORSHIP AND PREACHING in 1956 and used the terms "social preaching" and "social sermons."

It is our task to show the social nature of the Gospel by stressing the need for Christian action and behaviour in industry, politics and international affairs. It is also our task to make people aware of the social evils of today - intemperance, gambling, the misuse of leisure, and the threat to the sanctity of marriage. . . .

To exclude social preaching is to be blind to the social nature of the Gospel, but to preach nothing else is to run the risk of feeding our congregation on an unvaried diet of problems rather than a varied, sustaining diet of Christian truth.(21)

(19) David H. C. Read, THE COMMUNICATION OF THE GOSPEL, P.57.

(20) H. Hensley Henson, THE LIBERTY OF PROPHECYING, P.177.

(21) Thomas M. Morrow, WORSHIP AND PREACHING, P.69.

But apparently the majority of churchmen were still rather skeptical about preaching on social subjects. They either never mention it in their homiletical writings, or they give slight mention of it, or they appear to try to straddle the fence on the issue.

Ilion T. Jones wrote PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF PREACHING in 1958. He treats the area of social preaching in the following way:

In the minds of too many people life-situation preaching is identified with preaching on contemporary social problems. Sermons of this sort certainly deal with life situations. The number of such problems is limited, however. When the list has been exhausted a preacher is likely to find himself going around in circles, rehashing his pet social peevs, problems and schemes. Any preacher is in a bad way when one member of his congregation says to another "I can tell you ahead of time, that before our pastor finishes this morning's sermon, he will bring up at least one or more of these subjects: alcoholism, race, prejudice, Communism, economic justice or international peace. Can't he find something else to talk about?"

A preacher who deals regularly with social problems as such is tempted to assume the role of news analyst, lecturer or social engineer. Every preacher worth his salt is sensitive to social problems and interested in seeing the gospel applied to their solution. But he should remind himself that he is a preacher, not a social technician. His concern is not with the details of social arrangement but with the people who operate social machinery and with the effect of social systems on people. His job is not to create a Christian society but to create its creators. Religion can never be a purely individualistic matter. One of the preacher's functions is to make the social implications and applications of Christianity so clear that none can escape them. He should seek to create Christian social consciousness and consciences. But he should "stick to his knitting."(22)

(22) Ilion T. Jones, PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF PREACHING, pp.41-42.

As the minister of the North Morningside Church in Edinburgh, Dr. James S. Stewart wrote HERALDS OF GOD, which were also Warrack Lectures. He stated that:

If Christianity were the formulation of a body of human ideals; if the pulpit were a public platform for the dissemination of personal opinions or the propagation of a party programme; if the preacher were a kind of religious commentator on current events; if his main function were to explore the contemporary situation and to diagnose the malady of society; if the sermon were a literary lecture, a medicinal dose of psychological uplift, or a vehicle for the giving of good advice - the distinction between preaching and worship would be justified. But, in fact, the distinction is based either on a seriously defective understanding of the Gospel itself, or on a refusal to realize what happens when the Gospel is truly preached.(23)

Although it is not clear from this quotation whether Dr. Stewart acknowledges the validity of social preaching or not, he primarily is known for his more doctrinal and expository types of preaching.

A few churchmen who have written on homiletical matters appear to go out of their way to decry social preaching. Some of these men wrote during the first quarter of the Twentieth Century, although many are more contemporary.

Arthur Allan of Largs, Ayrshire wrote THE ART OF PREACHING, in which he has a section entitled "What not to Preach," and declares:

The pulpit is for preaching the love of God in Jesus Christ to perishing sinners. . . People do not come to Church to hear one-sided, and, most probably, ill-informed and immature dissertations on social, economic or political questions.(24)

(23) James S. Stewart, HERALDS OF GOD, p.71.

(24) Arthur Allan, THE ART OF PREACHING, pp.37-38.

As minister of St. Aidan's Church in Edinburgh, Andrew Benvie (1845-1930) wrote THE MINISTER AT WORK, and has part of a chapter on "The Ministry of Social Work." But in his section on "What Not to Preach," he stated:

Incidental reference has already been made to the fact that a minister as such may not, and cannot afford to be, a politician. Politics, national or local, he must eschew. Strong as may be his personal opinions on unemployment, the incidence of taxation, free imports, and other subjects which excite party passion, he is not entitled as a preacher to applaud or denounce ministries, policies, or parties in the State. He stands for righteousness and peace. He represents no party, and, save where national morality is concerned, may not intervene without mortgaging his influence and position as a minister of religion and as ambassador of Christ.(25)

Homiletical writers vary greatly in their suggestions on social preaching, but this study concludes that the best social preaching demands the finest of homiletical techniques and sharpened skills, in order to be well received and effective.

(25) Andrew Benvie, THE MINISTER AT WORK, P.120.

2. The Titles of Social Sermons

I feel that it can be said, that effective social preaching demands the best possible homiletics, because of the complexity involved, the risks taken and the communication problems inherent in the setting.

In the many social sermons studied, a large number did not have any titles, but there were some meaningfully descriptive ones such as: "The Glory of the City" by John Watson; "National Salvation" by Rauschenbusch; "The Community of the Holy Spirit" by Donald Baillie; "Thine Is the Kingdom" by Stewart; and "A Point of Law; Who Is My Neighbor?" by John Baillie. Temple's sermon titles were more plain and academic. David Watson's were clear but not colorful or dramatic. Kennedy uses straight forward and attention getting titles. Usually the titles do not reveal that the sermon is about a social subject area.

3. The Use of the Scriptures in Social Sermons

It is highly interesting to note the use of Scripture, the types of texts and what kinds of Scripture are used in social sermons. It appears that most of them have used a text on a particular theme, such as justice, kingdom of God or neighbor - such as have been mentioned under the heading of "Theological Themes" in this chapter. Some of the sermons had no text whatsoever, with little or no direct relationship to Scripture, as with Kennedy. Morgan used Scripture more loosely, as a springboard toward a certain direction. Others had a very strong biblical basis and good exegesis, like D. Baillie, J. Watson and Rauschenbusch. At times Rauschenbusch shows his outstanding ability at careful biblical study, for example, in his sermon entitled, "The Kingdom of God in the Parables of Jesus." Some of Temple's social sermons sound more like addresses. Those with exegetical skill, such as Donald Baillie, tended to utilize their skill more in their sermon preparation. With Stewart, he begins as usual by reading his text, which is usually very short, and then plunges directly into the message. Sangster definitely approached preaching from a biblical perspective and defined a sermon as a manifestation of the incarnate word, from the written word by the spoken word. He insisted that a sermon could be truly Christian preaching only if it was based upon the Bible. And so we find many different approaches to the text, but the finest examples of social preaching are strongly dependent upon a biblical basis and careful exegesis.

Rauschenbusch sometimes uses the parables of Christ, while John Watson uses the Sermon of the Mount considerably. The following is an analysis of Scripture References used by David Watson and reveals that he used primarily the Gospels in his social sermons. This tendency is true of most of the other social preachers as well. They mainly use the words of the prophets and the words of Jesus Christ. It is interesting, however, that Watson apparently did not use the book of Amos.

Leviticus xix. 18	St. Luke ix. 2
Deuteronomy vi. 5	x. 30
Psalms xv.	xii. 32
Isaiah i. 16	xvii. 21
xi. 1-9	xix. 12
Jeremiah vii. 4	St. John iii. 17
xxii. 3	viii. 3
Micah vi. 8	x. 10
Zechariah vii. 9	xii. 32
St. Matthew v. 23	xiii. 5
v. 24	xiii. 17
vi. 33	xv. 5
vii. 3	xviii. 36
vii. 13	Acts i. 3
x. 39	i. 6
xviii. 15	iv. 13
xviii. 18	v. 29
xx. 20	xi. 27
xx. 26	Romans viii. 37
xxi. 41	xiii. 10
xxii. 21	xv. 1
xxiii. 6	xv. 26
xxv. 26	1. Corinthians iii. II
xxv. 40	xii 14-26
xxviii. 20	2. Corinthians v. 19
St. Mark i. 14	Galatians vi. 10
vii. 9	2. Thessalonians iii. 10
xii. 9	1. Peter ii. 17
xii. 30	1. John ii. 15
xii. 38	iii. 16
St. Luke i. 71	iv. 11
iv. 16	iv. 20
iv. 43	Revelation vi. 16
vi. 36	

It is interesting to note the contrast in ministers such as Chalmers and Temple. Both developed their theology from Scripture, but their social preaching reveals widely different social views.

4. The Use of Relevant Social Facts and Illustrations in Social Sermons

Most of the sermons do not show solid preparation in fact-finding regarding a specific social issue. Notable illustrations of excellent preparation would be those of Rauschenbusch and Sangster. But they do show a keen understanding of social policy. Temple probably knew most of the specific facts, however he tended at times to simplify and to safely generalize in his sermons. "The Social Problem, Our Problem" is one of Walter Rauschenbusch's sermons that illustrates his vast knowledge of social facts. Cadman once asserted that there is no excuse for the lack of facts in social sermons.

Rauschenbusch places much emphasis on the need to study carefully the social facts and conditions. He reveals that he is, himself, well acquainted with the current social problems, and also with the social movement in Britain. Morgan reveals a good understanding of social problems as well in his sermons. Social principles of brotherhood, being a good Samaritan, equality, justice, the law of love are quite likely to be preached by Temple and Kennedy, for example.

One social sermon was found in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, which reveals the use of social illustrations supporting the main points. The sermon is by Norman V. Hope of Busby, Glasgow in 1937. Hope used as his text, Job 16:4,

"If your soul were in my soul's stead."

He said that the secret of all real sympathy is to be found in the divine art of changing places.

For in a very real sense it is true that Jesus Christ came down to earth and put Himself into our places, endured our human lot, lived our human life, and was tempted and tried just as we are - yet was without sin.(23)

"Faith and the Social Problem" is the title of one social sermon by M. M. Hughes, based on the text of St. Matthew 4:17. Hughes places a strong priority on the good understanding and communication of the social facts.

We must face the facts and try to bring them home to others. - Social problems are very intricate and complex, and uninstructed enthusiasm may do more harm than good. We are to love God and our neighbour with all our mind as well as with all our heart. Enthusiasm must be informed and directed by knowledge. Then, having grasped the facts and their significance, we must become apostles, charged with the mission not merely of illuminating the minds but of awakening the consciences of others. Part of the prevailing indifference to social evils springs from ignorance, part from a feeling that the possibilities of improvement are strictly limited. There are many who have little hope of the regeneration of the multitude, and who regard destitution and slums as inevitable elements in the social order. It is our privilege and responsibility to kindle faith where there is little or none, and to burn the facts into the consciences of men.

Moreover, the study of social problems needs to be humanized. We must remember that we are dealing, not with abstract principles and relations, but with men, women and little children, and the conditions under which they live and work. Behind the tables and curves and charts of the sociologist is the throbbing mass of humanity - tempted, sinning, sorrowing, suffering, struggling and striving. In the last analysis we are dealing not with things but with men. And we cannot play with men as we play with pawns. They have minds and hearts and wills and consciences. They think and feel and aspire as we do. The social problem is not merely an intellectual but a human problem.

(23) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 48, 1937, pp.427-8.

The corollary to this is that to knowledge and sympathy we must add service. It is the peculiar peril of those who are engaged in intellectual pursuits that they are apt to imagine that their cause is won when they have proved its reasonableness, and to forget that the forces of inertia, prejudice, and selfishness can be broken down only by persistent and self-sacrificing personal service. It is not enough to cherish great ideas and ideals. If they are to achieve anything, we must embody them in action in our varied spheres of life. The enthusiasm for humanity is one thing; the enthusiasm for the individual man is quite another. It is fatally easy to cry out for the uplifting of humanity, and at the same time to shrink from contact with the individual man who needs uplifting. The world asks of scholars two things: a service that is reasonable, and a reason that is serviceable; work made intelligent, and intelligence set to work.(24)

It also should be said that often it is these social facts that bring a high degree of relevance to the social sermon. S. M. Berry in his sermon entitled "The Supreme Demand" based on St. Matthew 6:33 said,

"At a certain conference. . . where the relation of religion and labour was being discussed, one after another of the working people there got up and said, without any bitterness, that they had left the Church because it seemed to care so little for social righteousness. Such people are impatient with a creed which seems to concentrate on the Jerusalem above and to shut its eyes entirely to the slums below."(25)

Berry exhorts his people to dirty their hands and to create a better earth. Religion needs to inspire social justice and righteousness. One characteristic of many social sermons is their high degree of current relevance.

(24) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 39, 1928, pp.417-18.

(25) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 45, 1934, P.553.

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Moreover, the study of social problems needs to be humanized. We must remember that we are dealing, not with abstract principles and relations, but with men, women and little children, and the conditions under which they live and work. Behind the tables and curves and charts of the sociologist is the throbbing mass of humanity - tempted, sinning, sorrowing, suffering, struggling and striving. In the last analysis we are dealing not with things but with men. And we cannot play with men as we play with pawns. They have minds and hearts and wills and consciences. They think and feel and aspire as we do. The social problem is not merely an intellectual but a human problem.

The corollary to this is that to knowledge and sympathy we must add service. It is the peculiar peril of those who are engaged in intellectual pursuits that they are apt to imagine that their cause is won when they have proved its reasonableness, and to forget that the forces of inertia, prejudice, and selfishness can be broken down only by persistent and self-sacrificing personal service.

It is not enough to cherish great ideas and ideals. If they are to achieve anything, we must embody them in action in our varied spheres of life. The enthusiasm for humanity is one thing; the enthusiasm for the individual man is quite another. It is fatally easy to cry out for the uplifting of humanity, and at the same time to shrink from contact with the individual man who needs uplifting. The world asks of scholars two things: a service that is reasonable, and a reason that is serviceable; work made intelligent, and intelligence set to work.(27)

It also should be said that often it is these social facts that bring a high degree of relevance to the social sermon. S. M. Berry in his sermon entitled "The Supreme Demand" based on St. Matthew 6:33 said,

"At a certain conference. . . where the relation of religion and labour was being discussed, one after another of the working people there got up and said, without any bitterness, that they had left the Church because it seemed to care so little for social righteousness. Such people are impatient with a creed which seems to concentrate on the Jerusalem above and to shut its eyes entirely to the slums below."(28)

Berry exhorts his people to dirty their hands and to create a better earth. Religion needs to inspire social justice and righteousness. One characteristic of many social sermons is their high degree of current relevance.

The use of relevant social facts in social sermons is also illustrated in THE GREATNESS OF GOD by Harry Emerson Fosdick, where he preached:

(27) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 39, 1928, pp.417-18.

(28) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 45, 1934, P.553.

Of course, I understand the protest which is already rising in some minds. Some may say: "This is a high-sounding exhortation, telling us to be Christians in spite of everything, but, so far as millions of our population are concerned, it is nonsense. To be a Christian in spite of being born and reared in the depth of some city slum, to be a Christian in spite of being a child in a sharecropper's family with never a decent thing to civilise and elevate the soul, to be a Christian despite the fact that, like multitudes of young people, one finds it economically impossible to marry and found a home, or despite the insanity of nations periodically plunging their youth into the hell of war - what absurdity is this! Far from saying that we should be Christians in spite of everything, it would be fairer to say that we must change pretty nearly everything in order to get Christians at all."(29)

(29) Harry Emerson Fosdick, THE GREATNESS OF GOD
(London: Collins, 1961), pp.245-55.

5. The Use of Homiletical Styles in Social Sermons

We have not seen that there were unique, or special or distinctly different styles used in social preaching, that are not used in other preaching. However, it appears that social sermons are usually topical. Also David Watson and others used a highly positive style especially at the conclusion of their sermons.

It is a note of certain triumph in the kingdom of God soon coming more fully to earth. Cadman asserts that the use of the positive approach in regard to social problems is much more constructive, than in using a highly negative approach of direct criticism. On the other hand, Donald Baillie and Kennedy felt that the church ought to denounce social evils in a direct way.

Social preachers usually are progressive and enthusiastic in their approach, as with John Watson, Rauschenbusch and David Watson. They often use the homiletical style of raising pertinent questions about social conditions and social policies, as with John Watson, Kennedy and Donald Baillie. Almost always there is involved in the social sermon, a straight forward kind of challenge to the congregation. This is clearly seen in the social sermons of John Watson, Rauschenbusch, David Watson, Gossip, Sheppard, Temple and Kennedy.

Kennedy often began with a series of questions. Once his idea was stated, he usually examined it from several points of view. He followed a problem solution approach in his sermons. His conclusions were never summaries, but rather an emotional climax of strong force. He was a master of style, using shocking

statements and imaginative poetry to capture the imagination of his congregation. His preaching represented a breakthrough in the art of communication. There was a quickness and urgency about his style of social preaching.

All of Sangster's social sermons show a careful, clear outline and purpose. Sangster's sermons are direct, his sentences clean, and he avoids theological cliches.

One of the primary factors in the credibility of the sermon in almost all cases was the life example and social work of the preacher himself. Very seldom was there any bifurcation between the clergyman's social sermons and his social work. Social action indirectly influenced his preparation and his delivery of sermons. Illustrations were often provided by the minister's involvement with social problems.

6. Other Recommendations by Social Preachers

In CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS, Rauschenbusch has several pages on the theme of the pulpit and the social question.⁽³⁰⁾ He realized that it was up to the lay person primarily to Christianize the everyday life. However, he knew that the pulpit could lend immense power and speed in matters of social reform. He emphasized that the pulpit has a strong teaching function, and that the church should teach plainly on the moral causes and remedies of social misery. He was well aware of some of the history of social preaching. He conceded that social preaching has often been badly done, that it often has been ignorant, bitter, partisan and non-religious.

"But if it has been done badly by the few who stood alone in attempting it, that is all the more reason why all should develop greater wisdom by common experience."⁽³¹⁾

Rauschenbusch strongly emphasized thorough preparation for social preaching. He believed that we ought to speak forcibly and wisely. He cautioned against launching personal invectives against individuals. The preacher dealing with social questions is certain to be charged with partiality.

"But if he really follows the mind of Christ, he will be likely to take the side of the poor in most issues."⁽³²⁾

Those who have been deprived of intelligence, education and property need such championship as the ministers of Jesus Christ can give them, and any desire to pardon and excuse should be exercised

(30) Walter Rauschenbusch, CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS, pp.357-369.

(31) Ibid., P.358.

(32) Ibid., P.361.

on their behalf. As things are, a minister will have to make a conscious effort if he is to be fair to the poor. A minister has no business to be the megaphone of a political party, but should rather be the master of politics by a thorough understanding of the issues. The time for the pulpit to do its best work is before a question is torn to tatters on the platform. Preaching on social issues is distinctly religious. Social preaching can be well balanced without going off on a tangent. The church needs evangelists and pastors, but it needs prophets too.

"If a minister uses the great teaching powers of the pulpit sanely and wisely to open the minds of the people to the moral importance of the social questions, he may be of the most usefulness in the present crisis."⁽³³⁾

If the minister can simply raise the sensitivity level of his congregation to the needy, it will be a good accomplishment. The minister needs to mingle with all classes of people. Great economic and social forces flow with a tidal sweep over communities that are only half-conscious of that which is befalling them.

The only book in existence on social preaching is

PREACHING ON CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES by Harold A. Bosley, who was the minister at the First Methodist Church of Evanston, Illinois. He believed that any sermon is the personal spoken discourse of a pastor to his people, talking to them about mutual problems, both personal and social, ancient and contemporary, many of which are highly controversial in nature.⁽³⁴⁾ His introductory chapter of twelve pages discusses preaching on controversial issues while the total of the rest of the book gives various examples of social

(33) Ibid., pp.367-368.

(34) Harold A. Bosley, PREACHING ON CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES, p.9.

sermons on the subjects of communism, economic problems, public leadership, drinking, an ambassador at the Vatican, freedom of religion, universal military training, war and peace and science. He suggests that all vital issues are controversial issues, and that the question of whether the preacher should deal with controversial issues was settled long ago in the Hebrew-Christian tradition, by implication or indirection. He shows from the history of America many examples of the way in which the clergy of many churches have spoken up on highly controversial matters. Like Bosley's suggestion of planning preaching by the year:

"Actually of course, the preacher's concern for the consideration of vital social problems will be all the more readily understood and received by his people if it is clearly a part of the larger context of the Christian gospel."(35)

The minister will want to plan his preaching in such a fashion that he deals with all the major problems of his day, using both the direct and indirect approaches. Bosley then lists six requirements which I think lay heavily upon the person who preaches on controversial issues.

First, he must get the facts - not just some, but as many as he can get; and his research must be as careful and as conscientious as that of a lawyer preparing an important brief or a surgeon preparing to deal with a delicate and dangerous ailment. Catch words or slogans should not be used. The apt phrase and the illuminating illustration are important in the finished product.

(35) Ibid., P.21.

The sermon begins in the area of public fact. I think that without thorough preparation, the pulpit will soon lose both the interest and the respect of the congregation.

Second, he must get a clear picture of the conflicting interpretations of fact that are at work in the public discussion of the issue. The preacher may be sure that critics of any point of view he might suggest will be in his congregation. It might help him in working out the sermon to personalize the point of view he is contesting, by seeing it as belonging to members of his church who will be listening to him. I feel that if he knows them well enough to be able to talk the matter over with them ahead of time, both he and they will profit by the experience and the resulting sermon will gain both in insight and compassion. And it needs lose none of its definiteness.

Third, he must reflect whenever possible, the judgments of the general church, as expressed in documents and resolutions drawn up by representative religious groups. I think that the resolutions adopted by the World Council are splendid statements on most human problems of today. The preacher will find it helpful to make use of certain days for special emphasis - Labor Sunday, Thanksgiving Day, World Order Sunday, Reformation Sunday, Temperance Sunday, Memorial Sunday, Independence Sunday. Each occasion lends itself to renewed treatment of continuing problems. The fact that five of them occur in the fall season makes it inadvisable to observe all of them each year, thus making a judicious scattering of emphasis possible. But these are valuable opportunities to discuss

vital problems that are certain to be emerging in various areas. Their treatment in the pulpit will be reinforced by the recognition they will be receiving in the press, on the radio and television, and among various interested groups.

Fourth, he must assemble and present the considerations that seem to him to be of greatest importance with as much clarity and power as he can muster. He is preaching from conviction and should preach for decisions on social problems. He must never forget that his people expect guidance from him. I don't think that he needs to pretend to be a Solomon who knows exactly the right answer, but he does need to be one who obviously has honestly grappled with the facts and has reached some definite conclusions which he now presents to his people in fulfillment of the stewardship of the pulpit.

Fifth, he must preach in such a fashion that everyone present feels included in the process of thought and conclusions. I feel that even those who disagree with him should feel that neither their reasons were ignored nor their sincerity questioned. The preacher should so present his material so that there will be a meeting of minds even when there is a difference of opinion. This calls for tact, a sense of humor, as well as conviction. There ought to be a sparkle of wit and quiet humor in well-balanced presentations of all vital issues. Intolerance, bigotry and cruelty are out of place everywhere in life and especially so in the pulpit. The preacher can be a crusader without being a fanatic, can preach from and for conviction without being blinded by what he believes to be true, which may be only partly true.

Sixth, finally he must bear his own witness to the truth as he sees it. The pulpit requires that of the person who occupies it. This calls for humility and courage, springing from the conviction that God is trying to speak His word through the preacher. In this courage he will find the strength he needs for facing the subtle as well as obvious intimidations of those who would silence the pulpit on all such issues. For those who would muzzle the preacher and mute the pulpit are always with us. They must be met and met openly. Once give in to them on your right to speak up on an issue, and they will silence you on all issues, unless you propose to confine your utterances to the comfortable words they desire to hear. He who does this betrays the pulpit and no longer has a free pulpit. I don't think that many want as their preacher one who is either afraid or unable to think for himself, to call them to task, to bring their day and generation before the judgment throne of the will of God, as revealed in Jesus Christ. They want a free pulpit even when its freedom may hurt them at times. The pulpit also belongs to the lay person. They are joint stewards of the pulpit - he of the spoken word, they of the heard word. And both are answerable to God for their stewardship.(36)

According to D. Bruce Cannon's article on the Church of Scotland in a recent issue of the REFORMED WORLD, some homiletical helps have recently been provided to the clergy in their preparation of social sermons.

(36) Ibid., pp.23-26.

The initiative, in the form of suggested sermon notes distributed to ministers and clergy, called on Christians to work for harmony and mutual trust and to resist greed, selfishness and influences which the church leaders said threatened the "moral collapse" of the country. The message, which was launched with an intensive publicity campaign involving all the news media in Scotland, drew attention to the demoralizing effect of unemployment - a particular problem in Scotland at present especially among young people - referred to the "law of the jungle" encouraged by inflation and underlined the need for a Christian witness starting at home and in places of work.(37)

(37) D. Bruce Cannon, "Scotland," REFORMED WORLD 33 (December 1975): 383.

C. PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

It appears that many individual churchmen are confused in this area of social preaching. Some almost never mention social issues in sermons, while a few do so frequently. But the great majority appear to be uncertain of what to do in this area.

1. The Personal Psychology of the Clergy

Frederick F. Mueller, as Pastor of the St. Mark's English Lutheran Church of St. Louis, Missouri; and Hugh Hartshorne, from the Research Department of Yale University Divinity School, wrote ETHICAL DILEMMAS OF MINISTERS. Chapter II is entitled "Social and Civic Consciousness" and lists methods of expressing social and civic consciousness:

The numerous ways taken by ministers to express their sense of social and civic responsibility may be classified in three groups. In the first group we find the pulpit being used for preaching the Gospel and laying down Christian principles. The message is applied to political, social and economic problems by way of general reference. Party questions or controversial issues, however, are avoided and specific political measures are not suggested. Rights of citizenship, such as voting, are also exercised. In the second group of practices, not only is social and industrial life mentioned in a general way, but specific questions involving controversial issues are discussed. Speakers from various groups such as socialist, communist, and labor unions are also brought either into the pulpit or before organizations of the church, in order that the people may understand present-day conditions and the social theories offered as possible solutions. In the third type of practice the minister takes more direct and concrete action, such as speaking for particular candidates, working for labor unions by giving moral encouragement or aiding strikers, and striving for social justice in the community by making investigations of industrial conditions.(38)

The authors of this book found that ninety per cent of ministers said that they discussed political, social or economic questions in the pulpit when a moral issue is involved.(39) However, the majority did this in a very limited and indirect way.

(38) Frederick F. Mueller and Hugh Hartshorne, ETHICAL DILEMMAS OF MINISTERS, pp.40-41.

(39) Ibid., P.41.

One minister felt that controversial issues should be avoided if possible:

I steer clear as much as possible from political questions except as it is unavoidable. No party question is allowable in the pulpit. There are broad moral issues when no doubt the church ought to be heard and no doubt has a remedy. In all such cases I do believe it is our privilege and our duty. We must always remember that we are ambassadors of Christ and only that which is in harmony with this should be preached.(40)

Another minister felt that controversial issues must be discussed openly:

I feel we were not given enough definite instruction in the seminary regarding these vital issues. I gave such matters little thought at that time, and thought that it was the duty of the minister to preach "the Bible" and not to deal definitely with these matters. I have come to feel that the economic and social problems are of paramount importance and that the church can no longer remain silent regarding them if it desires to be a real power for good in the years to come. The pulpit must speak out.(41)

One minister was apparently against using the pulpit for discussing social questions in any specific manner:

I have come to see that political issues may be influenced more by personal means than by speeches. It is poor policy to pound on these things until folk become angry. One must have faith in the Christian character of his people and work sympathetically on that.(42)

There were some who were apprehensive that the minister might go so far as a social reformer that he would neglect the other aspects of his ministry.

(40) Ibid., pp.41-42.

(41) Ibid., P.42.

(42) Ibid., P.44.

Edward Judson declared:

Social problems are so difficult and so fascinating that they easily absorb all a minister's time and energy. He neglects his study and the care of his flock. He loses his priestly character and becomes a mere social functionary.⁽⁴³⁾

Another churchman said that there were better approaches in the church than through the pulpit:

For all questions that are controversial or that involve political or economic issues, a forum or discussion group, where all shades of opinion can find expression, is much better than a church service in which the minister only has expression. It is not fair to talk to people on disputable matters, when the people have no opportunity to answer, or to ask questions.⁽⁴⁴⁾

One minister did social preaching and feels that it ought to be done, but has found some serious problems involved with it, and adequately states his viewpoint:

If a man has to announce his convictions in the pulpit, it should be done always against the background of fundamental religious principles, and with as little controversy as possible. I am coming to feel more and more that our Protestant churches are losing hold of the people as regards their desire for worship. Our stress on ethics and the social gospel has resulted in sermons no longer being a part of worship. They are too critical and analytical. Sermons must be against a background of God. One hears sermons now and then in which God is not mentioned. That is not worship. I feel people must hear something in church which they cannot hear anywhere else. We sometimes forget that fundamentally people have come to worship. I preached the social gospel in my ministry but found it a problem to keep the worship atmosphere and at the same time take up controversial issues.

(43) Winthrop S. Judson, THE GREAT TRADITION OF THE AMERICAN CHURCHES, P.205.

(44) Ibid., P.45.

We will lose our congregations altogether if we don't give them this other source of strength.

The question is, should we give them the social message in the pulpit or elsewhere? There are plenty of opportunities elsewhere. I am getting back to Biblical preaching after being away from it for years. It gives us authority. That is necessary for worship. In our ministry we must give a big note to God and His demands and then make applications.(45)

This is a dilemma for the older ministers as well as the younger ministers in the parish.

I talk to the young ministers and I ask them why they aren't saying anything. They say no one will listen to them; they aren't known and their churches are small. But wait, they say, until we get big churches and are widely known. We won't be silent then. Then I turn to the ministers in the big churches and I listen to them trying to explain why they have done so little. Their answer is a simple one; they say they have too much to lose. Only recently, one such man said to a group I was in, "I've spent seventeen years of my life in building up that church, and I'm not going to see it torn down in a day." . . .

To advance your career in the ministry today you must succeed in an organizational way. You must get for your church a bigger building, more members and more money. But to do this you have to dilute the gospel enough to secure its appeal for everybody - even sinners. As you advance, then, you must go out of God's favor. It looks like the way up is the way out.(46)

H. Hensley Henson suggests some pertinent questions related to social preaching which point out more of the dilemma of social preaching.

How far may they give free expression in the pulpit to their personal opinions on the burning questions of economics and politics? Ought they to hold their peace in the midst of public perplexity and excitement and repudiate for themselves the liberty of speech which every other citizen possesses? Is self-suppression or self-expression the Christian preacher's duty?(47)

(45) Ibid., pp.45-46.

(46) E. J. Campbell & T. F. Pettigrew, CHRISTIANS IN RACIAL CRISIS, pp.120-121, 127.

(47) H. Hensley Henson, THE LIBERTY OF PROPHECYING, P.153.

There is almost no literature directly on this specific field of study and the complexity of the issues is stunning.

Following a survey of some ministers concerning the expression of social consciousness, the researchers wrote:

To what extent pressure is exerted or acts as an unconscious threat is not known, for the simple reason that few ministers discuss problems in such a way as to arouse opposition from any group and still fewer do anything that would be objectionable to their parishioners. Why should they? Would it be helpful if ministers could be freed from economic dependence on the local congregation?

The answer proposed is that they should at least discuss social problems if moral issues are involved. But what constitutes a moral issue? Does the existence of an established policy of church isolation relieve one of responsibility? How does one decide whether the function of religion is only to hand down a body of terms of present-day needs? Is private judgment to be followed as to what constitutes a moral issue, or should the pastor as a representative of a church or the employee of a congregation yield his judgment at this point and follow the tradition or the desires of his flock? If his judgment is final, what are the criteria for deciding when a social or civic issue is a moral issue.(48)

One churchman declares:

I tell my people I accept no restrictions in the pulpit and demand the right to express my convictions at least once on any question.(49)

Helmut Thieliicke speaks concerning some of the disadvantages of a minister being economically dependent upon a particular church:

. . . . if a minister sets forth an opinion or a conviction of conscience which is offensive to the congregation, he may lose his position.

(48) Frederick F. Mueller & Hugh Hartshorne, Op. Cit., pp.53-54.

(49) Ibid., P.52.

Some rather sad examples of this can be seen in the racial struggles going on today. It must be very difficult for the pastor to preach on the Rich Young Ruler and to chide the hard-hearted rich; for the chief contributor in the congregation may be offended and transfer to another church. In addition to this is the fact that the average church member there is not much more mature than he is among us; that is to say, his criteria for judging a minister cannot exactly be called profound wisdom. Often enough he is judged by his popularity and his ability to put on attractive entertainments.

This too, of course, is an opportunity for God. For here he can test the faithfulness and steadfastness of his servants. But, as we said, it is also a chance for the devil; the temptation to be opportunistic, to compromise and to cover up is always near.(50)

Of course, these economic reasons might not apply to the same extent in Britain.

There is also the possibility of pressures from other judicatories which ought to be considered when taking a stand upon social issues. One minister points out the undercurrent of pressure which arises from this source:

There is some subtle work among higher officials of the church. Two-thirds of the bishops would be prejudiced against me and would be afraid I might cause disturbance in their territory. After one is successful in a couple of pastorates he can get along, but it would be difficult for a young man if he should become branded as a trouble maker.(51)

In one survey thirteen per cent of ministers asserted that their church objects to their speaking from the pulpit on political questions. (52) However, the majority of clergymen avoided the

(50) Helmut Thielicke, THE TROUBLE WITH THE CHURCH, pp.111-112.

(51) Loc. Cit.

(52) Ibid., P.50.

treatment of controversial issues in the pulpit, so that criticism was not likely to arise. The survey shows evidence to the effect that as the action in which the minister engages becomes more direct and concrete, the criticism increases. The survey concludes,

"Since few men actually participate in direct action, it seems clear that when such practice is followed criticism nearly always results."(53)

One clergyman said,

"The most influential people of this church would strenuously object if their minister should openly side with the workers in any concrete economic struggle."(54)

Another says,

"I favor this, but only once have I been able to do it without too much offence to my church."(55)

Another commented,

"My own conviction is that 50 per cent of one's ability to be radical and keep his job is a matter of pedagogy."(56)

Halford E. Luccock has included a chapter entitled "Social and Economic Questions" in his book IN THE MINISTER'S WORKSHOP. He briefly discusses the problems related to social preaching and clearly presents another important aspect of the churchmen's dilemma.

. . . . the social issues change with the years so that no conceivable body of static truth will continue to be living truth. A man's thinking must move with changing situations. A man can go from a daring radicalism in economic issues to an extreme conservatism by the simple and easy process of standing still. A great host of ministers have done it, often without realizing it.

(53) Ibid., P.51.

(54) Ibid., P.49.

(55) Loc. Cit.

(56) Ibid., P.52.

They have been so busy repeating their views that they have had no time to acquire new ones, or to take that fresh unbandaged look at their world, local or national, which would yield the facts that demand new thinking and views. They go on fighting bravely the battles of their youth, a generation ago, battles which were won or rendered obsolete by changing conditions. Often it is said of such ministers that they have "slipped back." Sometimes that is true; but more often the truth is that they have failed to get aboard a moving world.(57)

John C. Bennett discusses the distance between Christian ethics and social policy - describing more of the factors which relate to the churchmen's dilemma of social preaching. He says that social problems tend to accumulate, and that there is only a Christian minority.

The large-scale problems of society are greatly aggravated by the fact that we are constantly dealing with people with whom we have no direct personal relationship. . . .

This limited imagination is often combined with conflicting interests, and when such is the case moral blindness is intensified. . . .

The limitations of our imaginations and the distortions that arise from conflicting interests are further complicated by the extraordinary resources in the human spirit for cloaking self-interest with idealism. . . .

Another factor which makes public life especially difficult from the moral point of view is that personal responsibility is in many ways diluted.(58)

- (57) Halford E. Luccock, IN THE MINISTER'S WORKSHOP, p.232.
 (58) John C. Bennett, CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION, pp.26-32.

While some of the ambiguities concerning social preaching apparently stem from the minister's conflicting roles as citizen, denominational churchman, employee, and person; other problems occur because of the extremes of complexity of the social issues involved. Some ministers want to reflect social concerns in their preaching but just do not know how to do it effectively. Others are rather complacent and would rather not scrutinize their comfortable "successes" too closely.

Churchmen, of course, are part of their own social and cultural setting, and both consciously and unconsciously assimilate ideas and values, habits and actions. There is this inevitable cultural involvement and conformity of churchmen in society; and thus the tendency to be more a mere reflection of the existing social order, rather than to criticize and construct it. But the churchman is more than a part of society - he is a leader in a divine society - the body of Christ. To be acutely conscious of this in the midst of his tendency toward social conformity, helps to pave the way for a better understanding of his social ministry.

Charles Gore in CHRIST AND SOCIETY states:

Our task to-day is therefore partly one of proclamation or preaching - what I may call retuning the pulpits of our English Christendom. For this purpose I think our greatest intellectual or literary need is a comprehensive work on Christian Ethics. . . . But at present I am concerned primarily with Christian Social Ethics.(59)

(59) Charles Gore, CHRIST AND SOCIETY, pp.165-166.

D. L. Munby speaks of the contemporary situation in

Britain:

If we look for the reasons why the Christian impact has been so inadequate in the economic field in the last fifty years, and in particular in the post-war period, we are driven to look at three sets of factors. (a) There is little literature to guide anyone who wishes to think about these problems. (b) There are practically no teaching posts in Christian social ethics. This is both a major cause of the lack of literature and ignorance, and also a result of having leaders ignorant of the discipline in question. . . .

It is not surprising that the dominance of the classical tradition has led to a lack of concern with the specific problems of modern society, because this is one of the unfortunate results (today, though not in earlier societies) of what would otherwise be an admirable education.

Even if it were granted that Christians had little to contribute to the general discussion of these issues - and it is not entirely clear to me that we need take such a pessimistic view - the need would still remain to clarify the issues for the ordinary man in the pew, who wants to have some idea as to how these matters tie up with his Christian faith. It seems to me, then, that there is a place for statements which aim to educate people to the fundamental issues which lie behind the current controversies which they cannot evade, and to show how these issues are related to the essential tenets of the Christian faith. . . .

. . . . Certainly, it is this transformation of our world that is our daily task, as individuals and as members of Church and society.(60)

Apparently the dilemma of social preaching has been a felt difficulty for churchmen for many centuries. There has been wide disagreement on whether it is valid or not, what form or forms it should take, and how it should be related to other ministries. This study has been of value, for me and will, I hope, be of value to others, as it has thrown light on part of the puzzle of social

(60) D. L. Munby, GOD AND THE RICH SOCIETY, pp.157-164, 168, 179.

involvement facing churchmen today.

Ernest Troeltsch warns us, however, of being too idealistic about such a study.

If the present social situation is to be controlled by Christian principles, thoughts will be necessary which have not yet been thought, and which will correspond to this new situation as the older forms met the need of the social situation in earlier ages. These ideas will have to be evolved out of the inner impulse of Christian thought, and out of its vital expression at the present time, and not exclusively out of the New Testament, in precisely the same way as both those great main types of Christian-Social philosophy were evolved out of the Christian thought of their own day, and not solely from the New Testament. And when they have been created and expressed, they will meet the fate which always awaits every fresh creation of religious and ethical thought: they will render indispensable services and they will develop profound energies, but they will never fully realize their actual ideal intention within the sphere of our earthly struggle and conflict.(61)

(61) Ernest Troeltsch, THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, Vol.II, pp.1012-1013.

2. Psychological Techniques in Social Sermons

All this would indicate that ministers need to keep current on social issues and in continuing education. It is important to preach on social issues and to work on them directly as well, becoming personally involved. But it is also clear that ministers need better homiletical tools with which to work. They need to become more aware of the wide range of psychological techniques available to them. Many of these have been more clearly formulated during the last few decades. The conflict management field now offers very helpful techniques, which can be utilized in the building of social sermons.

Many psychological approaches can be seen in the history of social preaching. Preachers such as Watson, Temple, John Baillie, Donald Baillie, Sangster, McCracken and others have sought a balance of both the social and the individual in their sermons. Temple in his sermon "Other worldliness" points out the need to balance social concern with pietism. Cadman recommended that the surest way to overcome social ills was by a courageous, positive message rather than a negative one. Gossip used a strong indirect social emphasis in his sermons.

The following sermon from THE EXPOSITORY TIMES also is an example of this style of indirect social preaching. The sermon was "The Offense of the Cross" by Norman V. Hope of Busby, Glasgow. The main theme is the cross, but the social implications are obvious.

Now the modern world, like the world of the first century, is riven by man-made distinctions; there are, for example, national distinctions, which seem to be becoming more pronounced and acute. There are racial distinctions, and these, too, seem to be becoming more acute. There are economic distinctions between employers and employed, or, more generally, between what are known as the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.' There are also social distinctions between class and class. And the message of the Cross wages fierce war against them all. And still the reaction of many, who deem themselves superior, on account of their descent or wealth or social position - is distinctly hostile to such a message as the Cross brings. For example, it has often been remarked that the appeal of John Wesley and his Methodists in the eighteenth century and later was mainly to the lower middle and artisan classes. To the upper classes it was frankly unintelligible. And why? Because as Mr. W. E. Gladstone once said, the Methodist movement was 'a strong, systematic, determined, and outspoken reaction against the prevailing standards both of life and preaching. It aimed at bringing back on a large scale, and by an aggressive movement, the Cross, and all that the Cross essentially implies.'(62)

Sheppard was known for his denunciation of a dead ecclesiasticism, that did not involve itself with the practical needs of suffering humanity, but he did offer positive ways to meet the problems. Kennedy actually raised the level of conflict by rebuking the institutional church for its part in the poverty of England. He warned that the masses would revolt from a church

"which damned souls to build churches, sweated work-people to endow charities, and manufactured prostitutes by low wages to build rescue homes for fallen women and buy a peerage."(63)

This approach gained him many enemies: some disliked him because

(62) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 50, 1939, P.272.

(63) Horton Davies, VARIETIES OF ENGLISH PREACHING, P.113.

they misunderstood him; others disliked him because they understood all too clearly what he was saying. But he was sincere and unselfish.

Sangster believed that both evangelism and social emphasis had their place in the preaching of the gospel; but whenever one denied the rights of the other, confusion resulted. Evangelism must not be denied by the person with social concerns, but neither should the evangelist deny social emphasis:

But he will not deny as an evangelist the right and the duty of preachers more able with social problems than he is himself to deal directly with economic questions on occasion, and he will bless God for the man who can do it with assured knowledge, penetrating insight, and unmistakable spiritual power. (64)

The ministry of Robert McCracken also possessed the balance which most great preachers demonstrated: the balance between church activity and community responsibility, the balance between heart religion and head religion, the balance between evangelism and ethics, the balance between the individual and the social emphasis, the balance between the personal and the political, the balance between the vertical and the horizontal.

John Baillie had great influence on the Church and Nation Reports, which suggested 'middle axioms,' and apparently influenced social preaching. The 1942 Report began by setting forth a sound theological statement of the Christian faith in its relation to social life. It criticized the liberal humanism of the past with

(64) Ibid., P.53.

its naive belief that

"as time went by, both the evil in man's heart and the evil force at work in society would more and more be overcome by the operation of a natural and immanent law of growth."(65)

It went on to set Jesus' teaching on the kingdom of God in its proper eschatological setting, pointing out that the kingdom which the gospel promises is not brought in by man's efforts but

"is an order of things which only the power of God can ever inaugurate, yet it is a Kingdom whose full realization is already heralded by the redemption wrought by Christ."(66)

This section of the Report welcomed the growing spirit of community which had gripped the nation and said there must be no return to the old individualism with its unconcern for the corporate well-being.⁽⁶⁷⁾ It stressed that all genuine Christian social action must proceed on the basis of the biblical understanding of the nature of man as a sinner, or else it would go astray. The Christian doctrine of man corrects the illusions of utopianism by stressing the fact that

"no earthly society can hope to be a perfect community or can claim to be an end in itself."(68)

However, this section of the Report acknowledges that liberal humanism had done much to awake the Christian social conscience:

There are aspects of Christian charity, of Christian tolerance, of brotherhood and equality and social justice, which, though deriving their ultimate inspiration from the Christian ethos, were nevertheless not taught to the world by the official representatives of organized Christianity.

(65) GOD'S WILL FOR CHURCH AND NATION, 1942 Report, P.13.

(66) Ibid., P.16.

(67) Ibid., pp.21-24.

(68) Ibid., P.30.

They were rather wrested from such organized authority, often as the result of bitter controversy and struggle, sometimes by men and movements which had detached themselves from the Church. . . . Much of the present indifference to the Church, and even hostility to it, derives from the feeling that it has shown little zeal for the redress of the most obvious social evils - so that the oppressed and underprivileged are forced to look elsewhere for the help they need. Here is an obstacle to the present propagation of the Gospel which should move all who are in the Church to the deepest penitence, to constantly renewed searching of heart, and to open confession of their own grievous and sinful responsibility in the matter.(69)

The next section of the 1942 Report discussed the nature and extent of the Church's concern in the civil order.

The Church at last gave due acknowledgment to the fact that social injustice was caused not simply by the personal sin of individuals but was the product of social sin - of corporate evil - which expressed itself supremely in class and economic self-interest.

This section of the Report went on to indicate how the Church could avoid the danger of adopting either of the false attitudes to the civil order by confining her pronouncements within the sphere of what were called 'middle axioms,'(70)

'Middle axioms' were formulations of those Christian goals for society which were more specific and concrete than vague general principles which were inapplicable to the practical problem at hand,

(69) Ibid., pp.27-28.

(70) Ibid., P.45.

The term 'middle axioms' first came into use at the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State, held in 1937. Benjamin A. Reist has a very helpful discussion of the middle axiom technique on page 139 of RELIGION AND SOCIAL CONFLICT, edited by Robert Lee and Martin E. Marty (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

yet which were less specific and concrete than particular programs and schemes of action. They were intended to provide a middle way for the Church between the utterances of mere empty platitudes which said nothing, and the advocacy of complex and technical political and economic programs. The Commission believed that if she failed in this area of her mission, her evangelistic efforts in an industrial society would be ineffective, for

. . . . there can be little doubt that it is to the failure of Christians to realize and act upon these social implications of the Gospel that the present weakness of the spiritual life of our land must in no small part be attributed. We long for a revival of spiritual religion, but there are many who suspect the spirituality to which we call them of making too ready a compliance with a social order that for them means only hunger, slum conditions, unemployment, or sweated labor. . . . How can men be drawn to a Gospel whose one practical expression is serving Christ by serving the least of His needy brethren if we preach it in abstraction from the crying needs of the poor and oppressed of our own society? Selfishness is of the very essence of the sin from which, in any revival of religion, men need to be redeemed; but what if there be no particular form of this sin from which we more need to be redeemed today than a complacent indifference to the social evils that surround our comfortable lives?(71)

(71) Ibid., P.49.

After quoting the above words from the Report in the Assembly, John Baillie, the Convener of this Commission, added: "That is why so many of us feel that no form of evangelism which is insensitive to the social problem is likely to meet with much success in our own time." (J. G. Riddell and G. M. Dryburgh, CRISIS AND CHALLENGE, appendix I, P.121).

In the last section of the 1942 Report, the Commission, in dealing with social and industrial life, sought to abide within the limits of the Church's concern and competence as it had defined them in the notion of the middle axioms. The Commission declared that from a Christian standpoint, the existing industrial system was open to serious criticism for many reasons, and it proceeded to enumerate seven major defects in the present industrial system. These included the existence of mass unemployment in peace-time;⁽⁷²⁾ the growth of great private monopolies whose uncontrolled economic power

"leads to the production of inessential luxuries at a time when there is an insufficient supply of basic necessities, such as housing;"⁽⁷³⁾

the immoral practice whereby

"things which have actually been produced and are needed for consumption must be again destroyed, in order to maintain or to restore the existing financial, industrial and political structure;"⁽⁷⁴⁾

the exaggerated economic inequalities which

... lead to one-sided relationships of dependence giving to some an arbitrary power over others, producing class antagonisms, leading to jealousy and hatred in the victims of arbitrary power, and to pride and contempt in those who wield it.⁽⁷⁵⁾

(72) GOD'S WILL FOR CHURCH AND NATION,
1942 Report, pp.58-59.

(73) Ibid., P.59.

(74) Loc. Cit.

(75) Loc. Cit.

The section of the 1944 Report on social and industrial life proved to be the most radical and controversial of all the Commission's statements.⁽⁷⁶⁾ As a result of further intensive study of the structural faults inherent in the existing order, the Commission declared that it was more convinced than ever of the necessity for some such middle axiom as that contained in its 1942 Report dealing with the control of irresponsible economic power.

It now

. . . . believes the present time and situation to be such as to call forth the clear declaration that the common interest demands a far greater measure of public control of capital resources and means of production than our tradition has in the past envisaged.⁽⁷⁷⁾

- (76) In an article in LIFE AND WORK MAGAZINE, R. E. MacIntyre, minister of Morningside High Church, Edinburgh, and one of the members of the Commission, discussed the opposition to the Commission's declarations. He noted that it had been said of the 1942 Report "that it was 'Left' in its inspiration. What matter, if the thing inspired was itself right? God save us from the tyranny of names and labels! We are looking for God's mind in this crisis of our affairs, and why should we be silent if it be His mind to change the foundation upon which hitherto our political and social life has been grounded?" (May 1944, P.70).

THE BRITISH WEEKLY referred to the attempts which were made in the 1944 Assembly to shelve the Report or to water down its recommendations (June 1, 1944, P.109; June 8, 1944, P.117). The opposition to the Commission's deliverance of the social and industrial life section of the Report was reflected in the number of amendments which attempted to weaken the Church's commitment to the section advocating a greater measure of common control of the means of production. One attempt to alter a sentence in the Committee's deliverance was successful, but most of the amendments were defeated, and the Assembly eventually gave its sanction to the main recommendation of this question.

(ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1944, pp.590 and 607).

- (77) Ibid., 1944 Report, P.157.

The remainder of this section of the 1944 Report was taken up with a justification of this far-reaching middle axiom. It stated that the primary defect in the present economic system which lay behind most of the defects enumerated in the 1942 Report , was

"the tyranny of private interests."(78)

By this was meant the fact that the control of the economic power of the nation was in the hands of private interests who were not responsible to society for the use made of such power. The Report claimed that the only

. . . . alternative to increased public control of the country's capital resources and means of production is the continuance of the traditional private control, which is so little answerable to the community as a whole, and which allows the industrial scene to be so largely dominated by the profit-seeking of private and sectional interests. We are convinced that this domination must involve the perpetuation of three evils:

- (a) it will prevent the rehabilitation of our social and industrial life;
- (b) it will prevent our meeting our world responsibilities in a way more consonant with the Gospel; and
- (c) it will prevent our democracy from again becoming vital.(79)

The remainder of this section on social and industrial life was devoted to a detailed and persuasive substantiation of the statement that a greater measure of communal control was necessary for the rehabilitation of social and economic life, for the conscientious discharge of the nation's world responsibilities, and for the revitalization of democracy.(80)

(78) Loc. Cit.

(79) Ibid., P.158.

(80) Ibid., pp.161-171.

It is fair to assume that pronouncements such as these did enlighten the social preaching of the time. In fact, the middle axiom technique can be used effectively in building social sermons today. During this period, similar developments were taking place in the Church of England.

The ethics of approximation is best defined by referring to three representative thinkers in the Church who may be identified with this position: William Temple, J. H. Oldham and Reinhold Niebuhr.

William Temple, in his opening address to the Malvern Conference, recognizes the place of sin on one hand, but on the other hand, tries to affirm the need to work out principles for the departments of life in proper relation to the natural order.⁽⁸¹⁾ He felt that a new approach to natural law will hold in combination the two aspects of truth, the ideal and the practical.

We tend to follow one or the other of two lines: either we start from a purely ideal conception, and then we bleat fatuously about Love; or else we start from the world as it is with the hope of remedying an abuse here and there, and then we have no general direction or criterion of progress.⁽⁸²⁾

Rather than develop any theory of natural law, Temple proposes the use of a principle:

"The aim of a Christian social order is the fullest possible development of individual personality in the widest and deepest possible fellowship."⁽⁸³⁾

Thus, while Temple is attracted to natural law, he settles for certain objectives and principles which become in fact 'subordinate maxims.' His concern for love and justice does not allow him to

(81) MALVERN, 1941, pp.9-15.

(82) William Temple, Op. Cit., P.60.

(83) Ibid., P.62.

blur distinctions between the two, nor to assume that the natural order which is discerned really approaches love. For example, he says that co-operation

"which is the essential nature of all industry and commerce is not the same thing as that love of which the Gospel speaks."(84)

It could not be more than justice and there is little hope that man will be consistently just.

"Justice, in short, is the true form of love at this level of human activity, and the form will only become actual if the substance of love is present and active."(85)

Concerning the necessity for compromise between ultimate principles and practices of the world, we must be led in our common practices to a closer approximation to that of the Kingdom of God. The true Christian will judge all he does or attempts by the highest standards, and will pronounce sinful his best achievements, but he will not on the account commit the additional sin of injuring other people for the sake of a conscience which is sensitive about his own consistency but not about their sufferings.(86) Law, Temple felt, tends to become absolutized, and to demand loyalty of a kind which should be given only to God. Yet love demands of us not less than justice, so we are led to a closer approximation to that of the Kingdom of God.

J. H. Oldham, in preparation for the Oxford Conference, advocated the use of middle axioms to bridge the ideal and the concrete.

(84) Nils Ehrenstrom, et al., THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE COMMON LIFE, P.53.

(85) Ibid., P.55.

(86) Ibid., P.59.

Yet Oldham reminds us that our primary concern is with faith and obedience, not with the knowledge of purposes or programs.

Economic power is responsible in its exercise not only to the people whose welfare is affected by it, but also to God. When the Church decided to support one scheme, she derived this decision from a middle axiom, and in turn the middle axiom was based on a more general principle.

Even if one accepts the ethic of approximation, one must face the further question of how far one is willing to go, or willing for the Church to go in these three steps:

1. guiding principles, 2. middle axioms, and 3. support of particular programs.

Sermons printed in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES became increasingly more direct in their social preaching. Earlier in the century, they suggested looking at all the facts, moralizing social relations and building upon spiritual foundations.

It is for us. . . .to seize this opportunity of branding on the fabric of the social order the marks of the Lord Jesus.(87)

The earlier social sermons of this period were usually general; but by 1936, some sermons were becoming quite direct.

Take the case of John Howard, the famous pioneer of all our prison reform. . . . or take Mrs. Sidney Webb. . . . Economists like Sir William Beveridge of the London School of Economics have suggested that strikes and lockouts and other industrial stoppages could be put to an end pretty quickly, if employers and employees would try to put themselves - in thought and imagination - in each other's places, and see the various questions at issue from the other's point of view.(88)

(87) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 39, 1928, pp.417-19.

(88) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 48, 1937, pp. 427-428.

But one of the most direct sermons printed in THE EXPOSITORY TIMES in 1943 was entitled "Is Social Security Sufficient?"

Everyone who possesses a social conscience must acclaim the ideals expressed also in the Beveridge Scheme as indispensable to the better order of society after the war. The prospect of unemployment, prolonged sickness, widowhood, hangs like the sword of Damocles over the head of the weekly wage-earner. The benefits which Sir William Beveridge's plan will extend to the needy and the suffering will banish at one blow that dread of want incurred in any working family by the uncertainties of life. The plan is eminently Christian because it rests on the central principle of the supreme worth of man and of each individual. The underlying principle is "Person before property, man before the machine."

Nothing but good can come of the State's care for its citizens, if it liberates the spirits of men and women from gloomy forebodings for the realization of higher ends.(89)

The following are examples of some psychological approaches which can be utilized in the building and communicating of social sermons.

1. Use the force field concept. It is possible to decrease the restraining forces or the resistance, while even increasing the driving forces. But usually the increase of the driving force will result in the increase in the restraining force. Bolsey's principle of directness in social sermons is similar to this. The middle axiom principle and the approximation principle of Temple, John Baillie and others are similar to this concept. It is also well to keep in mind that resistance occurs when the nature of change is unclear, when people interpret change differently,

(89) THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, Volume 55, 1943, pp.22-23.

when people are caught in force-field equilibrium and when change is imposed with no opportunity for acceptance. Sometimes it is well to make small steps together, until there is stronger growth in trust. It is also well to keep in mind whether or not the cost involved creates the best yield, or whether or not the price tag on the end product is really worth it.

2. Use clarity in communication and organization. The lack of clarity in social sermons can precipitate tensions.

3. Dissent should be depersonalized. The social sermon is no place for personal attacks.

4. Maximum feasible participation should be fostered. This may mean discussion groups after the social sermons, or various types of input methods by the congregation, e.g., enlisting the help of some members in the preparation of the social sermon. The principle of decentralization of the decision-making process is important. This method in and of itself is one of the best methods of communication. The principle of open participation by all is good to remember. The pulpit is not owned by the minister. It belongs to everyone.

Social sermons should be just a part of an over-all plan. One organizational principle is that people generally do what they plan. We do need to get ourselves out of the expert chair, and involve others and their gifts in meaningful ways. Dialogue sermons and feedback small group sessions, as well as small groups for input, can be helpful approaches to social preaching. Communication should be two ways.

5. Agreement on short-term goals may be suggested by the social sermon, as a partial answer to a particular social issue.
6. Schaller suggests that there should be a recognition of I Corinthians 12, or the diversity of gifts and ministers. We have different perspectives but the same Lord. We need to look inside the other person's frame of reference. If we were in their shoes, we would probably feel the same way. Therefore, walk in the other's steps. One theory of pluralism is based on dissensus rather than consensus. The multiplicity of disagreements can actually contribute to stability.
7. Short-term and long-term education will build common understandings and purposes and a sound theological base. Meanings can be clarified and understandings built.
8. Emphasize what is functional and what is needed, rather than argue over what is right. Usually the emphasis on what will work is more productive. Although it may still be appropriate to state what is right and work towards it gradually. Yet this too, has its drawbacks, because it can seem that people are being manoeuvred.
9. Be flexible and allow several different options, and let them choose.
10. Fostering and maintaining an attitude of mutual trust, affirmation and support is basic. The stronger the trust level, the more things can be floated. The spirit of cooperation, warmth, sense of humor, stroking, positivism and enthusiasm tends to build.

Preaching may give the impression of "I'M O.K., you're not O.K."

Therefore, a relational openness and honesty is highly helpful.

In other words, if you feel compelled to challenge the people to change and to accept new ideas, don't smear it in their faces. Help them to overcome their reluctance, their natural rebellion, and their feeling of being threatened. Instead of feeling like a martyred servant, think of yourself as a friend, as an enabler who helps the congregation move to accepting and fulfilling its purpose as a church.(90)

11. Foster the ownership of ideas in the grass roots. This can be done by sowing seed ideas among members of the congregation, and letting them sow more seeds. They will support more strongly the ideas that they feel they own.

12. Listen out completely and sympathetically. Always give them an out. This may mean the increase of pastoral calling or other means of keeping in touch with the congregation, and keeping them in touch with you. The change agent minister must be in touch with the whole system and the whole system in touch with itself. Increase face to face contact, and bring the people along with you. This may mean being a wailing wall, in order to drain off emotion. At other times, it may mean that emotion and conflict need to be raised. Managed conflict can be highly creative, like a fire in a furnace. But unnecessary conflict needs to be minimized.

13. Nothing will replace sound research in building social sermons. One should never make any assumptions in this area, but should be certain of the facts.

(90) Lyle E. Schaller, THE LOCAL CHURCH LOOKS TO THE FUTURE, P.39.

Harold Quinley reminds us that:⁽⁹¹⁾

Perhaps the chief resource at the disposal of the ethically minded minister is his pulpit. The Sunday service is the central activity of Christians each week, and the sermon the accepted means by which the pastor is to instruct the faithful. Given the large number of people who attend church each Sunday, the pulpit is an obvious platform from which the parish minister can provide guidance on what he considers to be issues of ethical relevance.

Harvey Seifert and Howard J. Clinebell, Jr. offer a helpful listing of methods for stimulating growth which is highly applicable to social preaching:

1. Begin by discovering needs and wants (the push) and hopes (the pull) of individuals and groups.
2. Build a relationship of trust between the change agent and the individuals or groups experiencing change.
3. Reduce resistance to change by an awareness and appreciation of the person's fears of change.
4. Encourage all those who will be affected by change to participate maximally in the choice of goals and the actual process of change.
5. Encourage acting on decision and on learning experiences as soon as frequently as possible.
6. Utilize the minimum degree of pressure, coercion, manipulation or leader initiative necessary to produce change.
7. Aim at changing the whole person, including his feelings, attitudes, ideas and behavior.
8. Take the person's reference group as an object of change.
9. Plan change in increments large enough to be seen as significant, but small enough that persons will not be threatened by the suddenness of large-scale changes.
10. Focus on changing the largest social systems that it is possible to reach and influence.
11. Emphasize positive reinforcement and reward constructive changes quickly and consistently.
12. Whenever possible, focus on changing leaders of organizations, power figures and opinion molders.
13. Create flexible structures to effect and consolidate constructive growth and change.
14. Help those experiencing change to see their changes in the context of a larger theological-philosophical framework.⁽⁹²⁾

(91) Harold E. Quinley, THE PROPHETIC CLERGY, p.123.

(92) Harvey Seifert & Howard J. Clinebell, Jr., PERSONAL GROWTH AND SOCIAL CHANGE, pp.73-82.

Even since the turn of the present century, when the Church began to reclaim her traditional concern for the whole corporate life of society, she has often failed to carry out her prophetic task with the wisdom and courage which the situation demanded. Too seldom has she moved 'ahead of the laggard majority;' too seldom has she been a pioneer; too seldom has she appeared as 'a disturbing uncomfortable ingredient, ever stirring to dissatisfaction.' This is not to suggest that there has been no general recovery of social preaching in the pulpits of the Church in the past half century, but it does mean that there has not always been that degree of prophetic criticism in social sermons that might have been expected, considering the extent of the Church's general social awakening.

Of course, it is true that the Church can never fully recover her prophetic witness. Christian social thought, because of the Church's humanity, is always strongly conditioned by historical and sociological factors which tend to militate against the exercise of consistent social criticism. As was plainly evident in our study of the early nineteenth century Church, the effect of such factors, particularly political, economic and class influences, upon the Church's social witness was disastrous. The influence of the same historical and sociological factors condition the Church's social preaching no less today. We need the courage to preach on social issues.

But, of course,

"the ultimate transcendence must occur when and where humanity lives out God's transmutation of us all into the inexhaustible realm of his Kingdom." (93)

Two things are vital. Socially, Christians will promote not so much the old-fashioned charity, though that will always be necessary, as community, genuine partnership in every walk of life, in family, school, factory, government, in the house of God. Spiritually, the Church must preserve its other-worldliness. The very tension which has often perplexed the noblest Christians and hindered social progress is nevertheless essential. For the only answer to the all-devouring State, if it is an evil one, is that its ends are contrary to God's and must be resisted; if it is a "welfare" State, that it is only a means to an end, and that the divine purpose to which it must subordinate itself is not to be realized in a historical Utopia, but in the Kingdom of Heaven, in a divine society of individual persons beyond history. (94)

More conclusions to this thesis will be found in the next Chapter, which will bring together supporting data from throughout this whole research project.

(93) Paul Lehmann, THE TRANSFIGURATION OF POLITICS, p.366.

(94) S. L. Greenslade, THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL ORDER, p.121.

CHAPTER VI. A RESPONSIBLE PULPIT -
OTHER CONCLUSIONS OF THIS THESIS

CHAPTER VI. A RESPONSIBLE PULPIT -
OTHER CONCLUSIONS OF THIS THESIS

- A. A SUMMARY OF THE THESIS
- B. THE CASE FOR THE RELEVANCE OF SOCIAL PREACHING TODAY
- C. THE CASE FOR THE VALIDITY OF SOCIAL PREACHING
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PREACHING
 - 1. Some Factors that Influenced the Pulpit of
the Church, to Speak to the Social
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A. A SUMMARY OF THE THESIS

Preaching responsibly with genuine concern about economic-welfare issues is essential in the application of the Christian Gospel to the lives of people. This thesis has been primarily a search for pertinent facts related to social preaching and their meanings or implications with reference to social concerns and twentieth century British preaching. This thesis makes a strong case for both the past effectiveness of timely, well formulated and persuasively expressed social preaching and the continuing need, appropriateness and method of such preaching today. This thesis argues for the relevance and the validity of the social preaching tradition.

Today, most countries are facing complex economic-welfare issues. Ministers generally are not preaching effectively to these social concerns. Facing similarly complex economic-welfare questions in an earlier day, we have seen that British clergy were challenged to develop certain types of social preaching. The approaches, insights and styles of their sermons are relevant and helpful to us today, in our attempts to preach to comparable issues.

This research has focused on social preaching, as the prophetic proclamation of the Word, which reflects response to and concern for social issues. Implications and relevance for ministry today has been drawn primarily from British sermons. Walter Rauschenbusch was also included because of his extensive influence on both sides of the Atlantic. The time period has been approximately 1900 to 1950,

a microcosm of time reflecting similar economic-welfare issues that face many countries today. The economic-welfare issues have included work and unemployment, poverty, health, housing and other related social concerns. This study has been based on the presupposition of the Biblical imperative of the Gospel for social preaching.

The thesis began with a chapter on the aims and scope of this thesis. Many complex and difficult questions were raised, which have been discussed in the pages of this thesis. Social preaching has been a historical dilemma for churchmen; and this area is filled with social, theological and psychological complexities. There is practically a complete dearth of literature written directly on this subject. We have seen that there are many conflicting points of view, and the need for much clarification in this area.

Chapter II was entitled the "Background of Social Preaching." The first parts are drawn from secondary sources as well as primary sources, because of the many original languages involved. But the later sections utilize the original sources for information on clergymen and their social preaching. In Chapter I, I stated that one of the specific objectives of this thesis was to gain a sense of the background of social preaching. Looking at this thought-provoking history has enlightened our own situation, for we stand today in this tradition of living faith and relevant preaching.

Drawing on an immense area of reading, we have seen the age-old tension in the preaching of the Church between the personal and the social impact of the Gospel. This tension is shown to have taken on every kind of coloration, varying with the personality of the preacher,

the challenge of circumstance and the theological-sociological configuration of each generation and time. After a considerable treatment of the Old Testament prophets, the early Christian Church, the church fathers and the medieval Church, we moved to consider the Reformation period and beyond, with the main thrust being the social preaching in England and Scotland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where the documentation is more full.

We found that there is a prophetic line of social preaching that can be traced from biblical days to the twentieth century. We saw a panorama of social preaching down through the centuries, along with differing social structures and changing social responses. The Church responded to social issues in many ways; for example, Church legislation, social preaching and social welfare work. We have seen that these responses had a relationship to each other, as well as to the State and individual responses. For example, when the Church could not legislate itself, it would at times try to persuade through preaching or to be benevolent to the poor. When the Church did legislate or make primitive social pronouncement, social preaching and benevolency tended to lessen.

We have seen that social preaching was rooted in the Old Testament prophets. Jesus, the writers of the New Testament and the Church Fathers further used social preaching. When the Church dominated all of medieval life, the general quality of social preaching diminished, with a few exceptions, to be renewed in the Reformation Period. Then the pendulum of pulpit social concern swung away until the nineteenth century, with a few notable exceptions like John Wesley.

Social concern reflected in preaching became increasingly evident among the clergy during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The concept that existing social conditions were sacrosanct began to die slowly, and the prophetic pulpit began to regain its courageous voice. Enlightened attitudes became more evidenced toward progressive social reforms. This recovery of social conscience appeared to develop in England several decades before it evolved in Scotland, although the social conditions were generally worse in Scotland. A few great names stand out in England in the field of social preaching, while in Scotland the lesser lights brightened the way towards more social enlightenment. Renewal of an authentic Christian social tradition in England was led by Maurice and his followers with their emphasis upon the importance of the individual and the concept of community, during the middle of the nineteenth century. The recovery of a social conscience in Scotland was led by George Adam Smith and others with their renewed emphasis on the Old Testament prophets and the social teaching of the New Testament, at the end of the nineteenth century. But it was not until the twentieth century that social preaching had a more adequate and mature social theory and theology of society.

The picture of social preaching has been varied, using many types of techniques, themes and approaches. At times the social voice of the pulpit has been strong; at other times it could hardly be heard. At times it was wise; at other times foolish. At times it was negative and critical; at other times it was positive and constructive.

A whole range of issues and subjects have been topics of the social pulpit. A wide range of theological doctrines and social theories have been related to its social message. But, generally, there has developed through the centuries a wiser and more sophisticated methodology of social preaching.

One of the traditional themes of social sermons has been the extravagance of the rich and the neglect of the poor. Other widely used themes have dwelt with general social conditions, slavery, usury, political measures and more personal areas of ethics like temperance and the Sabbath. The educational concerns were not mentioned nearly as frequently. Social areas were preached about most, with political areas also being strongly used as themes during some periods. The prophetic protest was usually stronger when economic conditions declined.

Traditionally, in its social outlook, Calvinism has been seen to be more activist and for the transformation of the State by the Church, while Lutheranism was more for the subservience of the Church to the State.

We have seen the Church as generally a markedly conservative institution, strongly supporting the existing order of society; usually blind to the real source of social problems, conforming to its environment and exceedingly slow to change. But there have always been men who possessed the courage to preach relevantly to the social issues of their times. Toward the end of the nineteenth century a definite trend was evidenced toward the renewal of social criticism and construction in the pulpits of England and Scotland, and we witnessed a strong resurgence of social preaching at the turn of the century.

Chapter III was entitled "Economic-Welfare Issues of Britain," primarily during the first half of the twentieth century. I stated in Chapter I, that one of the specific objectives of this thesis was to portray some of the larger national social issues of the twentieth century, in order to provide the context for the response of social preaching. It was clear that the major general social issue was that of the development of equality in the Welfare State. The social issues that stand out as being the most important during this period are work (including unemployment), poverty, health, and housing. This chapter makes it abundantly clear that during the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century in Britain, working conditions for men, women and children were deplorable, that educational opportunities were extremely difficult, that government legislation was very slow in responding to the needs of the poor, that real justice was but a fond hope for many people, that the 'have nots' were unduly exploited by the 'haves', and that the Church was all too often content to leave the status-quo undisturbed. 'Rocking the boat' was not much cultivated by the great majority of preachers. The conditions of people were such as to nettle the consciences of a few preachers who were bold enough to claim that the dignities and justice and comforts of the few could and should belong to the many, and that the social gospel was a valid expression of the teachings of Jesus.

This chapter focused on the crying social needs of Britain, portraying the economic, education and welfare conditions of England and Scotland, during the latter part of the nineteenth century, prior to World War I, from World War I to World War II and afterward.

The chapter has made it clear that there has been a radical revolution in the social order during the twentieth century. Some of the older social problems have persisted, while many new ones have come to light. Equality has been the key issue, taking many forms. This period has been called "the century of the common man" and "the age of the working class." It will be remembered for its social legislation, breaking down class divisions, the spread of equality, growing affluence, devaluation and inflation, a breaking down of ethics and codes and a search for sensation and sensationalism.

The depressions and the wars had delayed the implementation of basic social changes, but nothing less than a social revolution was effected by the main legislation of the years 1946-1948. Perhaps more than any other measure, the National Health Service has come to be associated with the idea of the Welfare State, bringing better health to the lower classes. The theories of Beveridge became landmarks in the field of social policy over much of the world, with its principle of equal contributions and equal benefits. We have seen clearly in this chapter, both the social conditions and the resulting social policies of the first half of the twentieth century in Britain.

Chapter IV was entitled "Relationships Between the General Social Response of Clergymen and Their Social Preaching," and reveals the response of British sermons during the same time period. In my first chapter, I stated that one of the objectives of this thesis would be to portray some of the general response of British clergymen and others. Also, it would include some of the more important social movements, the social literature written by the clergy and some of the

other important social responses by individual clergymen as they are related to social preaching. This chapter fulfils this objective.

In Chapter I, I stated that another objective of this thesis would be to portray examples of the social preaching of the Church of England, the Church of Scotland and others in order to show how social concerns were reflected in sermons. This chapter seeks to do this, as well as to see some of the relationships between social sermons and the various types of theological and social movements of the twentieth century. Some of the key preachers during this period are studied and their sermons analyzed. Social preaching has been seen as an indirect determining factor toward the achievement of more social justice in Britain.

Another objective stated in Chapter I was to determine some relationships between the general clergymen responses and the pulpit social pronouncements. Although there were exceptions, this chapter showed that clergy with minimal general social concern reflected this in their sermons. They reflected occasional social preaching with minimal response in other social concern areas. This chapter also showed that clergy with moderate general social response reflected this in sermons, and that there was a direct correlation between general social response and social preaching response. They reflected moderate social preaching with moderate response in other social concern areas. Those who were strong in general social response as well as strong in social preaching reflected strong social preaching with strong response in other social concern areas. It was concluded that there is usually a direct correlation between the extent of social preaching and the extent of social activity.

Chapter V was entitled "Implications for Social Preaching," and dwelt with theological themes, homiletical techniques and psychological implications. These divisions provided a good framework for analysis of the material, and such analysis is essential for academic purposes. However, the impact on the hearers or readers of the sermons had to come as a totality of all of these plus the personality of the preachers, the socio-economic conditions of the times of the delivery or publication of the sermon and the moods then current in society. The persuasive and often colorful phrases of the sermons speak for themselves but they also, in their totality, provide a very strong case for the Christian message to be expressed in terms of human welfare.

The section on theological themes included trends, specific themes, the relation of evangelism to the social gospel, the relation of religion to morality, and some of the more recent theological movements. It was concluded that we need an appropriate balance of individual and social salvation. Morality was seen to be a part of religion and all of life and inseparable from it. Social policy is fraught with values, all of which have moral implications.

The section on homiletical techniques included some views of homiletical writers, titles of social sermons, the use of the Scriptures in social sermons, the use of relevant social facts in social sermons, the use of homiletical styles in social sermons, and other recommendations by social preachers.

The section on Psychological Implications was divided into the personal psychology of the clergy, and psychological techniques in social sermons. Many of these points and sub-points were raised as questions in Chapter I. Conclusions have been provided based on examples throughout the thesis.

Chapter VI is the final primary division of this thesis and is entitled "A Responsible Pulpit - More Conclusions of this Thesis." It includes a summary, the case for the relevance of social preaching today, the case for the validity of social preaching, the case for the effectiveness of social preaching, and other factors involved in the tradition of social preaching.

Again, many of these themes have come from questions raised in Chapter I. Conclusions have again been stated, supported by examples from throughout the thesis. It is clear that in order to become skilled in social preaching, we must study social sermons.

Augustine has written:

Eloquence grows upon those who read and listen eagerly and intelligently to the eloquent. . . . I know of many men who are more eloquent without the rules of rhetoric than many of them who have learned them. But I know of no one who has become eloquent without reading and listening to the speeches and discourses of eloquent speakers.(1)

(1) Trevor Rowe, SAINT AUGUSTINE, P.48.
London: Epworth Press, 1974.

B. THE CASE FOR THE RELEVANCE OF SOCIAL PREACHING TODAY

Our world has changed enormously since 1950 and especially in the area of increased complexity in social policy. World War II tended to even off the classes so that they shared more evenly. The British welfare system grew substantially out of the influence of the war and out of concern for a basis of more equality and freedom. The Beveridge Report has been a landmark for the world, for example, in its policy of equal contributions and equal benefits. But the Beveridge principles have not persisted, as seen in the present system of differential payments and rewards. British social policy has moved away quite substantially from its stance right after World War II. Social policy just has not been able to stay with the same tradition, primarily because of the lack of financial resources.

The very high scholarship and academic level, and the immense complexity of social policy today is clearly reflected by such books as SOCIAL POLICY by Martin Rein, EXPLORATIONS IN SOCIAL POLICY by Alvin L. Schorr, CHANGE, CHOICE AND CONFLICT IN SOCIAL POLICY by Hall, Land, Parker and Webb. BRITISH SOCIAL POLICY by Bentley B. Gilbert, and SOCIAL POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION REVISITED by David Donnison. These scholarly fruits of social thinking are relatively modern in the last ten years. Just as social policy of the past (for example, Beveridge) may seem strange now to modern ears, so also the tradition of social preaching (for example, Temple) may seem strange. Both are now a matter of history, and we need to remember to place them in their own historical context.

We are living and working out of the exponents of a tradition that may be regarded as strange to Americans, although not as much so to Britons. The British tradition of social preaching is strange to a great many people in the American churches at the present time, as well as being strange to apparently an increasing number of church people in Britain today. At least it can be said that the present generation in Britain may not have so much sympathy and understanding of this tradition. And so social policy has changed markedly, and social preaching as well. The first sixty years of this century witnessed social preaching at its height, but now there has been a decline as the pendulum has swung back again the other way. There has been some divorce of social policy and social preaching. There obviously has been strong relevance in the past, with Christian Socialism and social preaching but this has changed as the degree of complexity has become so great. Some claim that Christian theology does not have any special social relevance now, as it has had in the past. Theologians would not today identify with one particular school of economic or social policy. The average church member in Britain today would not accept the words of William Temple as highly relevant. And the average church member in America today has scarcely heard of Temple or of any of his ideas.

We need to enlighten people in our churches about this Christian tradition of social preaching. Not that it has to be as highly academic necessarily as some social policy.

It can be made relevant and practical to ordinary people, as, for example, Temple did so effectively. Since social policy is fraught with values and morality, certainly the Church ought to have something of high relevance to say.

we may look forward to a laity increasingly sensitive to its responsibilities in community and national life, to a kind of partnership between ministers and laymen, the like of which few of us have experienced, and to the always unpredictable and dynamic grip with which the Gospel takes hold of hearts and consciences. The consequent expression of the social gospel may not be as doctrinaire and self-righteous as it has sometimes been. Its exponents are likely to acknowledge the correctness of Dr. Dan Williams' observation that "there is not Christian economics in the sense of a distinctive Christian science of economic behavior, nor any one Christian answer to the question 'What is a good economic order?'" But they are likely also to put a Christian question to all economic orders and programs: "What does this way of life do to the freedom, equality and growth of mutuality to the people who live in it?" A responsible answering to that question will, it may modestly be prophesied, usher in new creative days for the social gospel.(2)

In 1968, a thorough survey was made of Protestant ministers for nine major denominations in California, one of our most progressive States. Questionnaires were completed by one thousand, five hundred and eighty, or a good sixty-three per cent. It was recognized that the sermon is the primary medium through which church members learn their pastor's instructions in the meanings and directions of Christian thought. And yet the sermon appeared to be ineffective as a moral guide, as many ministers seemed to be unable to fill the role of the shepherd in guiding their flock. The churches were like sleeping giants, with vast but dormant potential for creating brotherhood, social justice and a more humane society. Certainly it could be a potent social factor, with its huge membership and presumed

(2) A. C. McGiffert, Jr., "The Social Gospel Re-examined,"
THE CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY REGISTER, 47, (May 1957): pp.10-11.

moral authority. Ministers have an unique opportunity to contribute to the public good on Sunday mornings, since the study showed that prejudices were abundant in church. And yet this research survey concluded that most sermons rarely touch on controversial moral, ethical and social issues. More than a third of the clergy said that never in their entire ministries had they taken a pulpit stand on a social or political issue. The study also revealed that the more theologically conservative the minister, the less likely to speak out. Clergymen agreed that they do have great potential to influence the political and social beliefs of their parishioners, however, most were strangely silent. They felt that their congregations would not approve. But it was evident that the theological beliefs of the clergy themselves had the most to do with keeping them silent in the pulpit.

"So far as we can tell, Sunday mornings will remain the same, with America's silent majority in the churches, listening to silent sermons,"(3)

the research concludes.

In April 1968, Milton Rokeach carefully examined the value systems of well over one thousand Americans ranging in age from twenty-one to eighty. The sampling and data collection were handled by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago, a polling organization. The national sample was selected to represent all adult ages, social classes and parts of the country. The data pointed to a hypocrisy deeply embedded within organized religion.

(3) Rodney Stark, Bruce D. Foster, Charles Y. Glock & Harold Quinley, "Sounds of Silence," PSYCHOLOGY TODAY, (April 1970): P.61.

"Considered all together the data suggested a portrait of the religious-minded as a churchgoer who has a self centered preoccupation with saving his own soul, and an alienated, other-worldly orientation coupled with indifference toward - a tacit endorsement of - a social system that would perpetuate social inequality and injustice."(4)

But MONDAY MORNING, a magazine for ministers of the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, asserted on its cover:

"... the enterprise of the United States of America is a continual risk. It depends on trust. It can be wrecked, by human greed, power-lust, fear and hate. It can be seduced by efficiently organized managerial groups. But the Christian Church, I believe, has a calling to support, refine, criticise, and renew it from the resources of its own far more certain covenant, bringing love to bear on the refinement of justice. This is what happened to some degree two hundred years ago. We need to learn the art today, not just in the pronouncements of our assemblies, but in the style of our engagement."(5)

In the most recent study, (1976) only an average of four point six per cent of clergymen believed in speaking out and leading the way on social issues. Actual working for social justice took an average of point two hours per week.(6) Obviously the extent of social preaching today is meagre in comparison to the magnitude of social problems.

This 1976 poll of two thousand, four hundred and ninety ministers serving the Reformed Church in America, the United Church of Christ, The United Methodist Church, The United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and the United Church of Canada was made by the National Council of the Churches of Christ

(4) Milton Rokeach, "Hope," PSYCHOLOGY TODAY, (April, 1970): P.38.

(5) Charles C. West, MONDAY MORNING, 40, (March, 1975): i.

(6) National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., THE RESULTS OF AN ECUMENICAL POLL, pp.41,47.

in the United States of America, by its Office of Research, Evaluation and Planning. Of the ministers polled, the largest number:

1. Believed that hunger and family life styles are the most important issues facing the national church,
2. Think the national church programs most in need of expansion are evangelism and Christian education,
3. Believe the church's most important task is helping its members to be Christians in all aspects of their lives, and consider speaking out on social issues less important than that task and less important than nurturing the young, caring for the old and supporting world mission,
4. Devote the most time to sermon preparation and the smallest amount of time to working for social justice, raising the church budget and recruiting new members,
5. Believe they devote too little time to home visitation, working for social justice and recruiting new members,
6. Want more pastoral care from the denominations they serve,
7. Think seminaries are doing an effective job in their traditional areas of instruction - Biblical, theological and historical studies - but that improvement is needed in training programs on membership recruitment, administration, evangelism and stewardship,
8. Endorse the idea of ecumenical organizations and approve of NCCC programs,
9. Evidenced a high degree of satisfaction with their ministry.

It appears that the amount of social preaching today has declined. Also, it is interesting that the field of social ethics was not mentioned in regard to seminary education.

We need to be reminded of the words of Charles Gore:

"Our task to-day is therefore partly one of proclamation or preaching - what I may call re-tuning the pulpits of our English Christendom. For this purpose I think our greatest intellectual or literary need is a comprehensive work on Christian [Social] Ethics."(7)

The Moderator's Closing Address, on the evening of Wednesday 1st June, 1977, by the Right Reverend John R. Gray of Dunblane Cathedral, was on "Splintering the Gates of Hell," urging the pushing of both the social and the personal gospel together. He urged the Commissioners not to withdraw from the world into a religious ghetto, or to become immersed in the crowd of the world. He said that the Church was the guardian of the nation's morality.

The Church has often become so immersed in the world, so intent on applying the Gospel to social and political problems, that it has lost hold of the Gospel it was trying to apply. . . .

The trouble with the social gospel was that it had no Gospel. When someone is drowning, the worst possible thing to do is to jump into the water beside him. . .

The second mistake which the Church has made is in precisely the opposite direction. withdrawing from any entanglement in politics or economics, it has become totally immersed in its own affairs, in the strengthening of its own inner life. . . .

We must on the one hand resist the temptation to become part of the Crowd and on the other to retreat to the Cloister. Neither the Crowd nor the Cloister is the answer. The answer is the Cross - to live in the world by the standards of Christ, to embrace the unchanging Gospel, and with that Gospel to advance upon the world. But if we are to make that advance, if we are to fulfil once again our rôle of being the guardians of the nation's morality, we must establish a firm base from which to operate. We must reform our own life. Indeed, it is certain that we shall be little heeded by the nation and the world unless we speak from the heart of a vital and vigorous Church life. . . .

(7) Charles Gore, CHRIST AND SOCIETY, P.165.

. . . . without encroaching on matters purely technical, industrial or political, the Church as a corporate body should be ready to speak to the world, to the nation and to both sides of industry on a wide range of subjects in which moral and spiritual considerations chiefly arise and in which she has special competence - for example, aid to underdeveloped countries, marriage and the family, human rights, the use and abuse of drugs, religious education, pornography, euthanasia and other questions of medical ethics. About some of these and other topics there will be dispute as to the Church's right to speak, but so long as we try in each case to show clearly the relevance of the Gospel, we shall be listened to with respect.(8)

There is a need for a basic change in attitudes and skills on the part of clergymen, so that they approach the problems of society as fellow sinners and with concern for others. Church leaders can help to develop practical ideas that will make it possible for society to progress. They must become more precise at times in their pulpit criticisms of issues and in their social suggestions. They need to learn to utilize better the tools of community organization.

what is at stake in the whole question of the church's involvement in social issues is the welfare of our nation in the '70s. I, who still believe in that marvelous dream that is America, but who would be realistic about the weaknesses and failures of people and societies, and yet who am saddened by the injustices that mock that dream, see the church as an important way in the '70s by which to lift further the burden of evils that weighs down upon us and our society and keeps that dream from our waking.(9)

Today, church leaders even though they may be biased, hypocritical and hostile, can still be helpful with social problems.

- (8) John R. Gray, "How the Church Must Change the World," LIFE AND WORK, July 1977.
- (9) "Church Leaders as Activists: Good or Bad?" THE NATIONAL OBSERVER, Monday, August 3, 1970.

Hugh T. Kerr has recently asserted in THEOLOGY TODAY,

"The problem is not that there is something wrong about the 'pastoral' office, whether in ministry, politics or theology. But when the pastoral occludes the prophetic altogether, then we are in trouble. For if we have no prophets, who will prick our complacency? Who will remind us of our heritage and destiny? Who will goad, prod and disturb our easy consciences?"(10)

Today, we need social preaching that is appropriate to the church setting and receptivity, to the issues of the times, to the spirit of the times, as well as to the individual preacher and his gifts and position. For example, some clergy might have special gifts in other areas, such as evangelism. But as Sangster advised:

"He will not deny as an evangelist the right and the duty of preachers more able with social problems than he is himself to deal directly with economic questions on occasion, and he will bless God for the men who can do it with assured knowledge, penetrating insight and unmistakable spiritual power."(11)

However, there does need to be some sense of appropriate balance between the emphasis on the individual and the emphasis on the social in preaching, which, as we have seen in this thesis, is difficult.

The words of 1854 are just as true and relevant today:

There is unquestionably a preaching for the age. There is a style, a tone, a scope, a speciality of object in the administration of God's Word which peculiarly befit the times. . . . It is right that the progress of society in every form of talent, taste and science, should tell on preaching. . . . Nor is this right alone; it is a thing certain to be. The characteristics of the Pulpit will change from generation to generation. The traits of preaching in one age will be supplanted by other traits.(12)

- (10) Hugh T. Kerr, "The Pastor and the Prophet," THEOLOGY TODAY, 33 (January, 1977): 328.
- (11) W. Edwin Sangster, THE CRAFT OF SERMON CONSTRUCTION, p.44.
- (12) THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, 1854, p.398.

C. THE CASE FOR THE VALIDITY OF SOCIAL PREACHING

Chapter I raised the question as to the validity of social preaching. This thesis concludes that this tradition is not only highly valid, but that it is a Biblical, theological and historical imperative in presenting the whole gospel. I have asserted that responsible social preaching about economic-welfare issues is essential in the application of the Christian Gospel to the lives of people today.

This thesis has pointed out that some say that the Church should not become involved in social struggles, that there never should be 'politics in the pulpit,' that this is not a valid form of preaching, that ministers ought to stick to 'preaching the Gospel,' that social issues should be confined to the church hall, that it is too risky, that people do not come to church to hear about social problems. Today there are the issues of international affairs, ecology, business, labor, war, penitentiaries, revolution, economics, drug abuse, alcohol regulation, lotteries, education, race, elections, health, poverty, crime, deprived nations, the judicial system, migrant workers, population control and housing. Ministers are called and trained to preach Christ, some say, not to preach their opinions on all these public issues which they are not experts on anyway. Some feel that the social gospel has not real meaning, because the gospel is for persons, not institutions. The task of the Church therefore is not to change social entities, but to change human beings, who will then influence their institutions.

Also, people come to church to make contact with God, so that they can go out and live like Christians in the difficult issues they must face. Also, some say that there is no basis for social preaching in the Bible, that Jesus never referred to social issues, and that there is nothing about social morality in the great Reformation creeds.

To many fine church members such arguments seem so conclusive that only the willfully forward would try to get around them. But there are other Christians, just as good, who will give them no more than an indulgent smile as they go about with their social action they are sure is their Lord's will. Looking out from the pulpit at both sorts of members is the preacher, trying to be helpful to both, and finding it perplexing. Most people in a congregation could not be labeled; they are somewhat open-minded. But everyone seems to have at least a slight leaning toward one side or the other. These two different sorts of people often find it difficult to understand each other, but they really need one another to bring a more healthy balance.

The reasons for preaching on social morality are many. When ministers preach on social issues, they need to be able to explain to themselves and to others why they do it. This thesis has uncovered many of the reasons, throughout all of its chapters.

The reasons for such sermons are sharply plain in the Bible. The Old Testament is full of condemnation of social evil and demands for social righteousness. The laws of Moses are very detailed in their provision for mercy and justice and employment, court, business,

welfare and land management. Above the Bank of England in London is carved the verse

"The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof,"
(Psalm 24:1)

That is the clue to the whole economic system of the Old Testament.

"The land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine; for you are strangers and sojourners with me,"
(Leviticus 25:23).

There could be no permanent transfer of title; no one but God could be a great landowner. The Bible regards kings as God's men, who were called to account for their taxes, wars, foreign policies and welfare programs. In a democracy, where we are citizen-kings, this applies to us. The prophets, in passage after passage, are deep in social matters - taxation, judicial practices, international relations, political corruption, labor legislation, the hoarding of capital. The Old Testament provides for us a solid basis for social preaching.

The New Testament is less explicit about social responsibility than the Old Testament, because there was little possibility of sharing in social responsibility under the iron domination of Rome and its corrupt deputies in Palestine. But we find in the Epistles a great deal that we have to apply to our corporate affairs. They teach that all men are brothers, that the ties of faith eliminate the barriers of race, sex and class, that the body is sacred, that war comes from sin, that employer and employee are to treat each other justly and lovingly, that temptation is not to be thrown in people's way. Jesus did not make pronouncements of the specific problems of one time and place, but he gave us the basis for all

social regulations for every corner of the earth.

In this thesis, we have also seen the theological and historical imperatives for social preaching. We have seen that Christ's Church has across the years labored to make a better society. Its preachers have been leaders in this. The Apostles and those who came after them have applied the timeless principles of Christ directly to the social situations of their times.

John Calvin was almost the dictator of the morality of business and government in Geneva. Queen Mary of Scotland bitterly protested the strong part John Knox took in the affairs of the realm. President Woodrow Wilson came from a conservative Presbyterian background, and felt that Christianity should be individualistic, that the minister should preach to men and not to society. But the more mature Wilson later reversed this to conclude that Christianity was just as much for society.

Another reason for the validity of social preaching is that all the most important social and political questions are religious questions, and therefore the business of the pulpit. When laws on abortion are debated, a legislator needs medical, psychological and sociological information.

But essentially the question is a religious one, and he needs the church's help. Capital punishment is essentially a religious question. So is the problem raised by every war. All of our social arrangements express our theology. Our views on racial questions have to consider sociology, economic and politics, but they will depend on our deepest convictions about the nature and origin of the human family. Housing restrictions institutionalize a doctrine of man. Because of the Doctrine of Divine Purpose, a church has to be concerned with the structures of society. A city is as a factory for producing people and the Church must care greatly whether or not this factory is tooled and equipped to produce the sort of people God intends.

Another reason to preach on social issues is because to divide life into religious and secular compartments is the ideal strategem for forcing Christ out of His world. Also sin is both individual and co-operative. Again, it is a curious inversion of sense to say that the Church is to care about only one person at a time and to leave concern for large numbers of people to the government. Each person in the mass is infinitely precious to God, and if the Church cares about each of them it must care infinitely about the mass arrangements which control their lives. We need also to concern ourselves with the basic social conditions that breed individual problems.

Another reason is that the Church cheats its members if it gives them only a partial view of Christian responsibility. There can be people who are wonderful Christians in all their personal affairs and complete heathens in their social attitudes and business policies. Ministers have to preach on Christian social concerns, in order to resist the tendency of Christians to drift away from them. The citizens of a democracy are in charge of the morals of their government, and they are entitled to the church's help. The preacher can help his congregation with the personal social decisions they must make. It is true that preachers are not experts on most public questions, but they have had special training in the understanding of the Bible and of Christian thought. This is what they have to contribute in matters of social morality, and sometimes much more.

Churches must be instruments for social change, because an institution has to be confronted by an institution. The responsible pulpit helps the members of the congregation to come at social problems from a Christian point of view, and also, helps to make the Church an organization for social healing. Preaching can summon the Church to its social tasks.

These tasks include putting more people into society through whom Christ can minister. There is a sense in which evangelism is social action. It is possible for people to be brought to the formulas of faith with no sense of social responsibility, but no one can truly become a follower of Jesus Christ without becoming a saving factor in society.

The task also includes the Church as an organization getting into social action by serving as a training school for Christian citizens. In this the preaching has a major part. Church members can be helped to make their Christian faith decisive in their political opinions and in their choices of election day. They can be shown that political party activity may be a Christian vocation. The Church also is a social agency. Many congregations have their own programs for helping the poor, the aged, the ill, the victims of drugs and alcohol, the illiterate. They work in housing, health and recreation. Raising money is a form of social action. Many important social reforms have started in the pulpits. Ministers have pointed to shameful conditions in penitentiaries, schools, mental hospitals, and courts. God still calls his preachers to sound the trumpet when they see a wrong. And others than preachers may sound the warning call. A church by its own life can demonstrate the social ideals it proclaims.

The minister who longs to take up the cause of the hungry, the defrauded and the oppressed has an incomparable opportunity. He is called to make known the way of our morass that Christ has revealed. Sermons can show people what they have to do to decrease the massive wrongs and to increase the sort of life a loving God wants his children to enjoy together.

As Walter Rauschenbusch once said,

"But if the pulpit is willing to lend its immense power of proclamation and teaching, it will immeasurably speed the spread of new conceptions.

'With the assistance of the clergy everything in matters of social reforms is easy; without such help, or in spite of it, all is difficult and at times impossible.'"(13)

The possible research in the field of social preaching is almost open-ended in some of its implications, however I have sought to bring forth the primary issues involved. Also, unfortunately, I have not been able to include many clergymen who have made strong contributions in social areas, for example, the Very Reverend George F. MacLeod, Founder of the Iona Community. His social sermons are not available. However, he did state in the Warrack Lectures of 1936 on preaching, that we are to preach the truth in love:

The pulpit is there to infuse new spirit into true political activity. . . . The implications of the word are complex indeed in the chaotic social order to which we have fallen heirs. That we have the essential answer, within our own domain, is apparent on every hand. That folk are passionately waiting for it becomes ever more apparent. . . . we need not wait till we have something cut and dried regarding the application of the Gospel to our own social needs.(14)

(13) Walter Rauschenbusch, CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS, P.357.

(14) George F. MacLeod, SPEAKING THE TRUTH - IN LOVE, P.107.

George MacLeod (1885-) was Collegiate Minister of St. Cuthbert's Parish Church, Edinburgh from 1926 to 1930, Minister of Govan Parish Church, Glasgow, from 1930 to 1938, Founder of Iona Community (Leader from 1938 to 1967), Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland from May 1957 to May 1958, Chairman of the Scottish Central After Care Council and one of Her Majesty's Chaplains.

D. THE CASE FOR THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SOCIAL PREACHING

In Chapter One, I made the statement that I would make a strong case for the past effectiveness of timely, well formulated and persuasively expressed social preaching.

In Chapter Two, we have seen much of the historical perspective of social preaching. One can clearly see the effectiveness of this type of prophetic preaching in the Old Testament prophets, the New Testament Gospels and Epistles, as well as in the early Christian Church. We have seen that down through the centuries the pendulum of social concern has swung back and forth. Sometimes it almost stopped, at other times it moved weakly, and at times it moved boldly and courageously. Some churchmen responded with great wisdom, while others were less effective in their approach. Sometimes it was highly critical, while at others it was more positive. But social preaching remains as one effective means by which the Church responded to social issues down through history.

Men like Augustine with his homilies about the poor; Calvin with his concept of the Church in government; Knox with the strong political, educational and social implications of his preaching; Laud with his outspoken criticism; Wesley with his preaching about the social implications of the Gospel which apparently had considerable influence on those who followed him; Robertson with his higher level of social preaching; Chalmers with his limited view of social criticism; Brewster with his clear and powerful preaching

of justice, a man in advance of his time - all these, and many others attest to the effectiveness of social preaching.

It is very difficult to assess with exactness the impact of social preaching on social legislation, economic-welfare changes and educational policies. But certainly we have demonstrated that social preaching has strengthened the voice of social reformers. When a preacher such as Kennedy or Sheppard concerned himself with social reform, people apparently felt some kind of ecclesiastical or Biblical or divine approval for their own social welfare ideas. Therefore, I do believe that there is a strong cumulative case for the impact of social preaching down through the centuries, and especially during the twentieth century. For example, probably both Beveridge and Butler were influenced to some degree, at least indirectly, by the ideas and books and speaking of Temple.

David Watson's sermons must have had considerable influence, especially since his messages and so many other books of sermons were published during his period. During John Watson's years in Liverpool many members of his church became active in civic affairs, six became Mayors or Lord Mayors of Liverpool, and many others were prominent in the City Council. During this time, one of the most thorough reforms ever known in any city was carried out. Every good civic cause seemed to find an advocate in John Watson. We have already seen many examples of effective social preaching in Chapter IV, and so we will only briefly summarize here.

The impact of Rauschenbusch was truly great upon a cross section of people, in Britain as well as in America, in the areas of politics, theology and economics. He preached about basic causes of social problems, rather than only symptoms. He regarded the pulpit as a primary medium by which the church had effective power in society. He emphasized that the church must preach about social concerns, and regarded his preaching as being in the tradition of the prophets. He believed that he was obeying the Bible, when he preached on social justice. Sheppard preached dynamically that the church often failed because it loved the souls of people but not the people themselves, and his church became vitally related to the issues of that day. Temple expressed his social concern in many ways, but he also preached basic social themes as well as straight forward social issues, and his great effectiveness is incalculatable.

Temple was criticized by some for his ventures into the economic fields, which indirectly attests to the influence which he had in this social policy area. The following cartoons portray this.



BE WARNED, SINNER! TURN TO HIGHER THINGS!



HERE, SIR, DON'T YOU KNOW YOU'RE ON PRIVATE PROPERTY?

The Social Reformer

(From the *Evening Standard* November 1942 and April 1943)

(15)

(15) See also F. A. Iremonger, WILLIAM TEMPLE, P.577.

Kennedy was a fighter for social justice and human rights, and he shocked people with his unconventional sermons, which could not help but spread his own contagious enthusiasm. John Baillie preached on sharing in social concern, and then practiced what he preached. In fact, it appears that the experience of preparation and preaching of social sermons by these clergymen reenforced strongly their other areas of general response to social needs.

This thesis asserts that the impact of the preachers cited, plus their unmentioned colleagues, was considerable in changing the social awareness, consciences, laws and regulations of the period. To some extent, the effectiveness of their social preaching continues to this very day through the printed page.

Social preaching may meet with substantial disagreement. But this thesis has searched for pertinent facts related to social preaching and their meanings or implications. And though controversy at times cannot be avoided, there have been many skills uncovered which are helpful. The prophets, Jesus, and many since them have been highly controversial in their preaching. Differences in social issues can be highly explosive because they tend to trigger some of the most powerful emotions. However, controversy can be controlled and it can become creative, as skills are utilized.

When a minister is certain that some unwelcomed truth or moral stand needs to be spoken for, he needs to use the skills that will accomplish the most good and the least damage. This thesis has pointed up some skills that need to be considered in order to obtain the best reception and avoid unnecessary offense.

The following are a brief summary of some of these.

A minister might try to avoid controversial matters until he has been in a church long enough for the members to have confidence in him. The unwelcomed teaching might come from the Bible as a timeless truth. The preacher can quote those whom the congregation respect to present what may be hard to take. The minister does not have to stand alone. The unwelcomed part can be sandwiched between what is welcome. What people may not like can be carried by what they do like. Also, affirmation is usually more convincing than argument. A clear, enthusiastic statement of what the minister believes is more likely to win assent. Again, on difficult subjects a preacher must be especially careful of his manner; the most important part in persuading people is to make them like the speaker. Sometimes when ministers preach on social questions, they have a tendency to sound opinionated, denunciatory, sarcastic, contentious. They would get much farther toward their goals if they would come across as loving, humble, reasonable and pleasant. Provocative words should be left out. The minister's manner should suggest persuasion, not attack or judgment; use a more positive and calm manner with hot subjects. The minister needs to recognize that his own opinions might be warped or reflect a professional bias. Preachers need to recognize how their assumptions bias their opinions. Also, a self-debate type of sermon approach can be useful with controversial social issues. When the preacher makes the best case he can for both sides, however, he is helping people think in an intelligent way. This could encourage indecision or suggest that

the minister is unwilling to take a stand. But such preaching can be positive if it presents all points of view. It meets the objection that preaching gives an unfair advantage to one side.

But the social preacher is not without strong assurances. He has been called to a tradition to speak plainly for what he believes. John Knox gave Mary, Queen of Scots, a memorable definition of the preacher's responsibility, when he stated that he was a watchmen, both over the realm and over the Kirk of God, and therefore he was bound in conscience to blow his trumpet publicly. Most church people recognize that their minister is assigned to blow the trumpet publicly, to declare the truth as he sees it, from time to time. He may not always be right, but this needs to be done and the task has been given to him.

Also, there is the reassurance that church people are professed Christians, and it is remarkable at times, how patient with disagreement they can be. The people who are the most generous in their giving are likely to be the most generous in their attitudes.

Again, a church can grow during crises; conflict can be beneficial. In times of crisis a minister needs to think hard and plan carefully for the creative use of conflict.

It is reassuring for the minister to know that time is on his side. We have seen in this thesis, that on most social matters in which ministers have given leadership, they have turned out to be right. In recent years in America, there have been such issues as the steel strike, the traffic in munitions, child labor, prison reform, the hopeless poor, the policy of official lying, conscientious

objection to military service, political witch hunts, integration, freedom marches, Martin Luther King, the admission of Red China to the family of nations, inflation, energy. On each of these, ministers have taken widely criticized positions which by now are pretty generally seen as right, although there have been a few embarrassing exceptions. The truth is that ministers and lay church members greatly need each other's points of view. The challenge is to clearly communicate. The Church must do more to try to bring its members and ministers into the same Christian world. A well promoted church library can help with this, and so can book clubs, discussion groups, classes and conferences. Sermons can start the process and hopefully lead into discussion.

In every congregation, times will come when a minister who hoped he could be a priest finds that God has also drafted him to be a prophet. At those times let him be as loving and tactful, wise and skillful, clear and knowledgeable, as he possibly can be; let him give careful thought and prayer to what he says; but when he feels he ought to take a stand that to many will be unwelcome, let him not waver or back away from it; may he experience the courage to preach.

We have seen the Church as being as slow as a secular institution in making pulpit pronouncements and attempting to stem the tide of social evil which swept over the world with the coming of an Industrial Age. Sometimes the Church has taken an amazingly progressive stand on social issues in line with the most enlightened thinking of the day. But too seldom has the Church proposed answers

that were more progressive or more constructive than secular social thinkers. At times her pulpit criticism may have been more incisive, following the enlightenment she was able to bring from the Gospel to actual problems. But there were times when the message of the Church was vague, or when it lacked true Christian perspective, when her pulpit may not have attained the heights reached by non-Christian idealist reformers. Because the Church is so deeply entangled in the web of society, she is better able to meet the practical needs of men. And yet this involvement does mean that she will fall into mistakes and insufficiencies, and that her social witness will at times be only fragmentary.

But the danger of conservatism is very great, because of the tendency to become content and to fall into static unconcern for the emergence of new social issues. In becoming more deeply enmeshed in the structure of society, the Church is tempted to merely reflect it.

Perhaps the pulpit has not affected society as much as it has affected the Church. Some of the strands which tie the Church to history and more particularly to the status quo have been loosened. These strands existed before the Middle Ages but they tightened their grip in the Medieval world when the Church in subjecting everything to her authority became subject to the world.

After the Reformation, Lutheranism became identified with authoritarian forms of political structure because of a dualistic position which led to world denial. Calvinism has had some identification with social structures because of its world affirmation. Weber and Tawney are known for their studies of this area. Periodically the Church has had to be called back to her task to witness to the Kingdom of God in history. (See also Chapter Two.)

The early social sermons show only a partial comprehension of the elements which make up modern society. The answers were often aimed only at scattered problems. But the Churches began to slowly realize that it was no longer enough to sew patches on the tattered social fabric of the world. New ideals for the entire society were proposed and new goals defined. And it was not long before these ideals were identified with that Kingdom of God which God would some day bring to men. But these were more dreams, ideals and vague goals at first, although there were some practical suggestions and schemes. It should be pointed out that at times social concern has brought churches together, although perhaps more frequently tearing them apart. But gradually the Church has realized that it was meant to be the Church as the essential unity of One Body of Christ, theological basis was laid for social ministry, hope was built in the future fulfillment of God's Kingdom, principles were proposed which were to guide the Christian in making decisions in the concrete situation relative to the commandment of love, more specific social suggestions were offered. As long as the Church remained critical of her own involvement in the social fabric and of her social message, attention was given to her unique message, original because her witness came out of love and not out of self-concern. In finding her place in relation to society, the Church has found her proper relationship to the Kingdom of God. We have also seen that the reverse is also true, that in finding her place in God's Kingdom she has found her place in society. Thus the Church has become more conscious of what it is and what it means to be a responsible pulpit.

The responsible pulpit has been characterized as having received a promise and a command, to love God and others; as having a theology which needs to be interpreted to the needs of every generation, love and justice and equality. Or, as Tillich wrote:

Love does not do more than justice demands, but love is the ultimate principle of justice. Love reunites; justice preserves what is to be united. It is the form in which and through which love performs its work. Justice in its ultimate meaning is creative justice, and creative justice is the form of reuniting love.(16)

With this social principle, the Church becomes an agent of reconciliation between the demands of the world and the demands of God. For it shows that a society directed to the highest levels of justice is moving toward the purposes of God. God unites the works of justice to his creative purposes. The evil forms of this society may be shattered in the future because

"love must destroy what is against love."(17)

Only where the institutions of the world can be considered to bear such elements of creative justice may they be preserved. Also, the responsible pulpit is a teaching pulpit. In pointing to proximate and ultimate demands, she must make pronouncements which will guide the individual Christian in making decisions. The Church will find that guiding will have to be supplemented by middle axioms, which will define provisional behavior in a given period and in given circumstances. The responsible pulpit will also, on occasion, support specific programs for betterment and change.

(16) Paul Tillich, LOVE, POWER AND JUSTICE, P.66.

(17) Ibid., P.114.

we must see that certain kinds of programs may be contrary to sharing in the Kingdom of God.

If there is no specific Christian programme for social action, there are many forms of practice and action that are plainly incompatible with the Christian insight into the meaning of life. Just as in the early centuries the creeds of the Church took their shape largely through the repudiation of particular heresies as incompatible with the Christian faith, so in our time the path towards a clearer perception of the obligations of Christians in society may lie through the rejection of certain types of social conduct, social practice, or social organization for the Christian conscience.(18)

Also the responsible pulpit must be willing to experience worthwhile risks for the sake of the Kingdom of God. Christ has broken into history and instituted his reign. The Kingdom of Christ is already active in the world and in the Church. Because the Church carries the marks of the eschatological event which has happened, and also carries the hope of future consummation, her task is to make visible the Lordship of Christ to all men. In the proclamation there is revealed the Creation, the Redemption and the Final Consummation of all things. The Gospel that is preached under the present Lordship of Christ and by the Power of the Holy Spirit is the preaching of the Good News that God has broken into the world and is reconciling the world to Himself. And her Gospel is not a whole Gospel unless it includes a message both to individual persons and to society. But to say this, is to make an artificial distinction, because there is only one Gospel,

(18) Visser't Hooft and Oldham, Op. Cit., P.26.

the total Gospel of Christ, which is preached whenever the pulpit makes a pronouncement in the social or economic sphere. It is often preached obliquely, to a greater or less degree depending on its nature and the circumstances in which it is preached.

Sometimes discussion groups can help to decide what social issues need to be stressed in sermons. Occasionally social concerns may be included in prayers, as with Rauschenbusch. Clergy may be agents of social change in many ways. But social preaching has always been an indispensable part of the preaching of the whole gospel.

E. OTHER FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE TRADITION OF SOCIAL PREACHING

1. Some Factors that Influenced the Pulpit of the Church, to Speak to the Social Issues of the Day

Let us recall some of the factors which led to the recovery of the social pulpit. The mind of the Church in relation to the existing social and economic order underwent considerable change in the closing years of the Victorian era. Throughout this period the traditional social, political and economic concepts and presuppositions which had militated against a prophetic pulpit earlier, still dominated the thought of a large section of the Church. It is also true that, as yet, neither of the established Churches concerned themselves with the vital social questions which were being debated in the country at large in the closing years of the century. Nevertheless, the significant feature of this period is not the widespread prevalence of the earlier social attitudes within the Church, or the continuing silence of the pulpits or ecclesiastical courts, but rather the growth of a body of churchmen, including a few of the most influential clergy, among whom a new and more critical attitude to existing social and economic arrangements was clearly emerging. For two generations churchmen had accepted the worst features of industrial society (its slums, depressions, poverty and the general degradation of the wage-earning class) as an unfortunate but incidental flaw in the otherwise harmonious and beneficial operation of the unregulated capitalist system. Now, at last, it was evident that an increasing number of them were beginning to question both the ethical validity and the economic soundness of the system.

Many diverse factors, both sociological and theological, were at work in producing this gradual alteration in the Church's social preaching outlook. There was, for example, the stimulus provided by the rapid growth of socialist thought and influence, especially after 1890. With its radical criticism of 'laissez-faire' individualism, the iron laws of the classical economists, and the idea of a divinely-ordered social class hierarchy, socialism had a profound effect upon large numbers of churchmen, including even those who were convinced anti-socialists. Its influence upon Christian ethical thought was far-reaching. As Troeltsch stated:

It laid bare the worm-eaten condition of the previous conventional Christian ethic, which at its best, offered something for the ethics of the family and the individual, but which, on the other hand, had no message for social ethics save that of acceptance of all existing institutions and conditions, much to the satisfaction of all in authority.(19)

By thus undermining the idea that the existing order was sacrosanct, socialist criticism played a vital role in helping the Church to rediscover those elements within her own prophetic tradition which had been neglected for so long.

Another important change which contributed to an awakening of social preaching at this time was the growing awareness in society generally of the part played by environmental factors in producing social evils. In the closing years of the century,

"not only Socialists but society as a whole was becoming interested in the inquiry into the state

(19) E. Troeltsch, THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, Volume 2, P.728.

of the 'submerged.' From 1884 onwards, Commissions on Sweated Trades and on Housing. . . examined depths hitherto unplumbed. Investigation was the watchword of the hour, and the results were not consoling."(20)

This scientific study of society and the crucial effect of social conditions on persons made clear the considerable extent to which men were moulded for good or evil by their social environment. It was no longer possible, therefore, for the Church to place the whole blame for existing social misery on the personal moral failings of the individuals involved, or on the 'all-wise providence of God.' She was now forced to face up to the fact that unjust social and economic arrangements were at the root of many of the evils in society. Consequently, although most of those in the Church were still content to rely on palliatives like philanthropy and charity to meet the social problems of the times, more advanced churchmen were coming to see that it was an essential part of the Church's duty to work for a more just social order through preaching and alteration of those arrangements in society which contributed to the social misery of the people. An early expression of the dramatic change which the investigations of the social sciences had made on traditional nineteenth century Christian social thought is evident in a sermon preached by John Caird in 1874. Speaking of the new light which contemporary social studies had thrown on the conditions of society, Caird said that such studies have:

(20) G. M. Trevelyan, BRITISH HISTORY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1782-1901), P.400.

. . . . shown that very much of the destitution and vice that exists is due to causes that are preventible, or which new and improved social arrangements might modify. Much misery, disease, vice and sin is due to ignorance and neglect of the laws of health, and arrangements for preserving it. Hence the Christian benefactor has to investigate the physical causes and conditions of living among the poorer classes, their employments, food, house accommodation and the ways these can be improved. . . . The very advance of civilization and science, which increases the comfort and prosperity of some classes, tends to depress and render destitute those who depend upon mere manual labour for their living, and who may gradually sink so low as to become unaffected by prudential, moral or religious motives. To meet such a social malady, religion needs to ally itself with political and social wisdom. To enquire and discover if there be any readjustment of the mechanism of society which shall remedy or prevent such a state of things; any deeper conception of the rights and duties of property, any modification of the conditions that affect the the distribution of wealth or the regulations of capital and labour; which might arrest or prevent the existence and growth of social barbarism.(21)

These views of Caird, although advanced for the 1870's, gave some indication of the nature of the influence which scientific investigations of society were to have on conventional Christian attitudes to social evils by the closing years of the century.

There was one other factor, closely related to the above, which gave great impetus to a change in the Church's pulpit attitude to the social and economic order. This was the decline of classical political economy. By the beginning of the 1870's, for a variety of reasons, this decline had set in, and by the 1880's the classical economic dogmas were under strong attack not only from socialist

(21) THE CHRISTIAN TREASURY, February 1875, P.79.

Caird was one of the outstanding figures in the Church of Scotland in the last half of the nineteenth century. After a notable career as a preacher and Professor, he became, from 1873 until his death in 1898, Principal of Glasgow University.

critics but from new schools of political economy. The fundamental criticism which underlay all the attacks on classical economic theory was the growing realization that its so-called economic laws were not rigid, static, immutable laws built into the structure of the universe, but were generalizations drawn from the experience of particular social situations, capable of alterations by the will of man and by the influence of non-economic factors. By 1890, leading orthodox economists, such as Alfred Marshall,⁽²²⁾ had rejected the classical view that self-interest was the only effective and relevant economic motive, and were insisting that ethical considerations could not be ignored in the formulation of economic theory. Marshall blessed the efforts being made to eliminate social misery, claiming that extreme poverty was not inevitable but could be removed. Such ideas completely transformed the older political economy. By the end of the century, the belief in the 'invisible hand' (the divinity which shaped men's selfish interests to public purposes) was widely discredited. There was a new awareness that the self-interest and prosperity of the individual could be, and often was, in direct conflict with the well-being of society; that, therefore, it was essential that there be a restraining power placed upon irresponsible freedom; and that this restraining power could be vested nowhere else but in the state.

This decline of 'laissez-faire' economics had profound implications for the Church's pulpit attitude to society. No longer could it be argued, although some churchmen still attempted to do so,

(22) Marshall's famous work, PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMICS, appeared in 1890.

that the existing economic order (and by inference, the social class pyramid) merely because it existed, was divinely ordained; nor that immutable laws of economics decreed that the poor should always live on the brink of destitution. Instead, it meant that it was now possible to safely interfere with economic arrangements in the interest of a more Christian social order; that since social and economic institutions and structures were not divine or immutable, they could be, and indeed ought to be, subjected to Christian preaching. Above all, it meant that at last it was possible to bring an end to that almost idolatrous identification of the social and economic status quo with the will of God and the cause of Christianity which had marked nineteenth century Christian social thought. By the closing years of the century, the majority of churchmen were prepared to acknowledge at least the possibility and the advisability of altering existing social and economic arrangements. Thus, another major obstacle preventing a recovery of genuine social preaching had been removed.

Many other factors played a part in producing a change in the Church's social outlook. The recurring periods of economic depression and mass unemployment; the influence of a more democratically based electorate, and a more militant and socially-aroused labour movement; the liberalizing trend in the churches which accompanied the decline of the landed class influence following the abolition of patronage in 1874; and the emergence in the churches of England (as a result of wider educational opportunities) of a ministry more representative of all classes in society. These diverse developments, each in its

own way, had a significant effect upon the Church. It only remains to consider now the one decisive theological factor (the change in the Church's theology in these years) which played a crucial part in making possible a recovery of the prophetic social pulpit.

The new theological trends which were stirring all branches of the Church by the beginning of the last quarter of the century did not, in themselves, necessarily or directly issue in a recovery of social preaching. However, in two vital respects, these new developments in theology did play an essential part in making such a recovery possible. First of all, they successfully modified certain elements in the old orthodoxy which had militated against the possibility of the Church exercising her prophetic responsibility. Secondly, they re-asserted and emphasized elements in the Christian faith which had been long neglected and which had an important bearing on the Church's social witness.

The influence of orthodoxy on nineteenth century Christian social thought was a key factor in the tragic prophetic failure of the Church. With its pietistic moralism and otherworldliness, its exaggerated individualism, its rigid, scholastic categories and deterministic view of God and the natural order, this later Calvinism was incapable of acting as an adequate instrument for the expression of the living, prophetic Word of God; was totally unequipped to convey the dynamic truth of the Gospel in a relevant way to the whole corporate life in an industrial society. Instead, with its prudential tendencies, such a theology proved to be a natural and loyal ally of economic individualism and 'laissez-faire,' and a

most effective sanctifier of the social and economic status quo. Therefore, however numerous and powerful the other factors making for change in the Church's social outlook after 1880 might be, as long as orthodoxy remained dominant in the Church, there was little hope of any genuine recovery of Christian social preaching.

By the 1870's, however, under the impact of theological influence from Germany and England, there were strong indications that the rigid doctrines of scholastic Calvinism were undergoing considerable change in all three of the Scottish Churches. For fifteen years after William Robertson Smith published his first controversial article in 1875, the Scottish Church was rocked by a struggle over the question of biblical and historical criticism between the more liberal and progressive elements in the Church and the conservative defenders of the old orthodoxy. Yet soon after the struggle began, the final outcome was never in serious doubt. In the Free Church, although the conservative forces proved they were still dominant in 1881 by removing Robertson Smith from his Chair, the strength, and still more the calibre and influential position of the opposing liberal elements, indicated that the conservative victory was incomplete and would be short-lived. As early as 1890, it was clear that the new views derived from biblical and historical criticism were widely held in all branches of the Church and were being regularly taught, without challenge, by most of her theological professors.

Another indication of the change that was taking place in the Church's theological thought in these years was the passing of the Declaratory Acts. The first Church to pass such an Act was the United Presbyterian Church in 1879. The Declaratory Act was significant in that it was

"the first formulation of the points on which liberal Scottish Presbyterianism was prepared to modify the traditional Calvinism." (23)

The same desire to modify the scholastic notions of predestination and the other harsher elements of Calvinist orthodoxy was evident in the two larger Churches. The Free Church passed a Declaratory Act in 1892, while the Church of Scotland in 1889 and 1903 passed Acts (later confirmed by Parliament in 1905) which relaxed the subscription to the Confession.

With the gradual weakening of Calvinist orthodoxy, the way was finally open for the emergence of a Reformed theology which at least attempted to relate the fullness of the Gospel to the needs and problems of industrial society. While no single theological system replaced the old orthodoxy, the diverse theological tendencies which arose in this period all made use of the findings of the new biblical and historical scholarship. Therefore, in varying degrees, all shared in those new insights relevant to the Church's social witness which such scholarship re-discovered and re-asserted.

Later the change in the Church's theology contributed to growth of social criticism. But certain obvious social implications

(23) J. R. Fleming, A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND 1875-1929, p.18.

arising out of the new theological emphasis dramatically affected the traditional Christian pulpit attitude of society.

Among the most important contributions of modern scholarship to Christian thought was the rediscovery of the Old Testament prophets and the teachings of Jesus. Easily the greatest contribution of Old Testament criticism to the social awakening of the Church was the rediscovery of the contemporary relevance of the message of the prophets, particularly their concern for social preaching, practice and righteousness in national life. whereas earlier in the century this aspect of their message had been lost in the emphasis upon their predictive office, in Robertson Smith's first article in 1875, one of the points he emphasized was that

"the Prophets were preachers to their times rather than predictors of future events."(24)

This rediscovery of the contemporary relevance of the prophetic message, and the strong note of social criticism which it contained, came to have a significant influence on Christian social preaching.

A similar but more extensive contribution was provided by New Testament scholarship through the rediscovery of the historical Jesus as portrayed in the synoptic Gospels. It is difficult to over-estimate the profound effect which this literary criticism had upon Christian social thought through the renewal of emphasis on the humanity of Christ. Whereas the cold and austere scholastic theology had presented a Christ in whom the real manhood, gracious humanity and divine compassion of Jesus had been lost or at least obscured,

(24) Fleming, Op. Cit., P.10.

the more liberal theology which asserted itself in these years rediscovered once again this historical Jesus of Nazareth. It was this recovery of emphasis on the humanity of Christ which played such a large part in weakening the hardened scholastic framework of the old Calvinism. As T. F. Torrance stated:

It was only with the massive attention given to the historical Jesus in the nineteenth century that the hardened Covenant idea broke up, its formalistic grip upon Reformed theology was loosened, and the way was cleared for thoroughgoing obedience to Jesus Christ.(25)

With the renewed interest in the historical Jesus came a renewed interest in his teachings, including his social message. At the core of this message was Jesus' teaching concerning the Kingdom of God. In the new theology, it was the significance of the Kingdom of God for the present world that was almost exclusively emphasized. It was given a central place in the reinterpretation and proclamation of the religion of Jesus. The social relevance of the new emphasis on the Kingdom can be seen in the fact that the most liberal exponents of this theology believed that the primary task of the Church was to bring in the Kingdom of God, on earth.

But, while it is true that much of the early biblical and historical scholarship and many of those who embraced the new liberal theology were inclined to present the historical Jesus largely in terms of nineteenth century idealism (as the genial, kindly Nazarene, who was the proclaimer of a paternal theism) and did tend to ignore certain vital aspects of the biblical teaching concerning the

(25) T. F. Torrance, ed., THE SCHOOL OF FAITH, P.LXV.

Kingdom of God, there can be no denying the contribution they made towards the Church's recovery of her prophetic pulpit in society. For instance, the new emphasis upon the contemporary relevance of Jesus' teaching on the Kingdom of God (a Kingdom of love and peace, righteousness and justice) had far-reaching implications for the Christian attitude to society. It re-asserted the reality of the living, dynamic reign and rule of God now on earth, and the fact that the real sphere of Christian obedience was in the every-day events and affairs of men in the world. This fresh recovery of biblical teaching undermined much of the otherworldliness and pietistic individualism of the old orthodoxy which regarded the present world as of little importance for Christians, those who were strangers and pilgrims on the earth, compared with the world to come, and which concerned itself almost entirely with personal sin and the salvation of individual souls. Many Christians came to see that Christianity was a religion of obedience to God in the world, and not a religion of escape from it. The Gospel was social as well as personal, and had definite implications for the corporate life of society.

Another point should be made regarding the effect of the change of the Church's theology on the recovery of social preaching. It has been well said by a noted twentieth century Christian social critic, that

"to kick over an idol, you must first get off your knees."⁽²⁶⁾

(26) R. H. Tawney, THE ATTACK AND OTHER PAPERS, p.67.

This vividly illustrates the fact that as long as the Church identified the will of God and the cause of Christianity with the existing social and economic order; as long as the present arrangements in society (whether the hierarchical social class pyramid or the existing economic inequalities) were regarded as expressly determined and ordained by God, and thus as sacrosanct; as long as the Church idolized and worshipped the status quo, there could never be any genuine social criticism. Therefore, perhaps the greatest contribution made in these years to the eventual recovery of social preaching was the manner in which the re-affirmation of the message of the Kingdom of God in the teachings of Christ helped the Church to see that the Gospel could never be identified with any earthly kingdoms or existing orders. This it did by providing her with a standard and norm, a body of Christian principles and teachings, by which existing social and economic arrangements could be tested, evaluated and criticized.

It had been the lack of just such ethical criteria that lay behind much of the Church's prophetic failure earlier in the century. Since

"An institution which possesses no philosophy of its own inevitably accepts that which happens to be fashionable,(27)

the Church, having herself no distinctively Christian social and economic teaching applicable to the changed relationships and conditions of the new industrial society, had unconsciously filled

(27) Tawney, RELIGION AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM, P.189.

the vacuum by accepting uncritically current theories, practices and institutions which, because of an excessive determinism, she too easily regarded as part of the revealed will of God by mere virtue of the fact of their existence. By emphasizing man's natural knowledge of the Divine order of creation, and by neglecting the irrational elements in the various structures of human thought, and the pervasive influence of sin in all aspects of human life (not merely in the individual human heart) the Church, highly influenced by her rationalistic orthodoxy, had unconsciously regarded as eternally valid cultural and social patterns which were, in fact, the product of particular historical circumstances. Consequently, with the nation's existing social and economic arrangements, generally regarded as an integral part of the biblical revelation, it was inevitable that any criticism of such arrangements and institutions was regarded as not only unnecessary, but as almost blasphemous. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Church was predisposed to ally herself with the forces of reaction.

By the first part of this century, however, with the new emphasis upon social message - Jesus and the prophets; with an understanding of the Kingdom of God as expression of the divine will and purpose for man in this world, and, therefore, as a Christian ethical criterion for judging society, it was at last possible for the Church to recover its social preaching tradition.

Thus, we have alluded to some of the economic conditions which awakened the Church. Periods of depression, unemployment, poor housing, and work on the Sabbath forced the Church to sit up.

Looking about, she realized that there was a strange, unaccounted-for gap in congregations. Working people were not to be seen in the pews on Sunday. At first, it seemed that high pew rents might have kept some out, so there was an attempt to be rid of this system; but soon everyone saw the Church in a precarious position. Others thought that work on the Sabbath was the real cause. Then the growth of the cities, with the migration of workers to towns, was blamed. People cut off from their life long friends, their families and the village did not build up new relationships of the same nature in the new environment. At this point, the Church began to face the growth of the city. Cities had assumed a new character. All of these factors brought the Church to realize that there were indeed "lapsed masses."

Looking at phenomena born of time and change, the Church also saw what she had taken so long to see, that now one or two, or more generations had grown up with no Church contact. These were not "lapsed" people, backsliders, they had never known the Church, heard of the Gospel, or considered the meaning of a Christian Society.

Because the Church was such an integral part of society, and thereby, blinded to society's weakness, she was slow to diagnose the malady. When the Church saw society crumbling, when she realized that the idea of a Christian Civilization was out of date, (Rauschenbusch called it a "semi-christian" society), she knew her life was at stake. Realizing that she would fall if society fell, she took positive steps to correct the situation.

The strategic position of the Church was realized not only by some rulers who sought ecclesiastical backing, but also by industrialists who believed that the Church could bring peace to the disorder and havoc which threatened industry itself. Labor leaders also turned to the Church but were not given as much solace, not even the sanctuary, that peasants had known in a day gone by.

Up to this point the Church had much to overcome to render her witness effective. The Church was quite preoccupied with her own life. It is not often that one puts internal and external pressures side by side. A careful study shows this to be a stormy time for the Church. There were new theological trends, and movements within the Church seeking either tighter or looser orders. The Church was going through a period when she had to define her own position, and this was obviously affected in many instances by political events. (The Church in the Civil War America is a cogent example of this.) But even more than her own problems, the Church had to overcome the indifference of her clergy and members, the conservatism of influential social classes, the power of financial and political forces to preserve the status quo, the weakness of men in the face of economic rewards, the class differences, the 'physiological conservatism of age,' and the powers of institutionalized tradition. (28)

Dumbrowski sums up the growth of the social gospel as a result of many factors which apply almost equally to Britain as to America. The Social gospel was a result of : American activism,

(28) Walter Rauschenbusch, CHRISTIANIZING THE SOCIAL ORDER, P.30f.

renewed study of the Old Testament prophets reconsideration of New Testament ethics, continuation of interest in social matters after slavery, the rebirth of the Christian Socialist movements in Great Britain, eighteenth century humanitarianism, liberal tendencies in the theology of Maurice, Bushnell, Menger and Gladden, an inherent concern for social justice, gains made in social psychology by such men as Ward, Small, Giddings, James and Dewey, the influence of a group of political economists and journalists originating with religious presuppositions, Colwell, Ely, Lloyd and Bellamy. Finally the social gospel was to some extent a defense mechanism called forth by the attack upon religion of labor leaders, socialists and reformers, Robert Owen, Saint-Simon, Karl Marx⁽²⁹⁾ and Henry George.

The Church had to come to terms with pietists who would postpone efforts for social regeneration until the inauguration of the reign of Christ.⁽³⁰⁾ There were battles on other theological fronts also. A new theology was the result. The theological concept basic to early pronouncements of the Church was the Kingdom of God. From Maurice's book, THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST, to Ritschl, to Rauschenbusch, and then from the Tractarian sacramental view of the universe to the profound incarnational theology of Lux Mundi, we see at least two

(29) THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO was written out of a deep concern for social justice. Karl Marx was born of Jewish parents and must have been trained in the Hebrew Scriptures. Marx's parents adopted Christianity when he was a child of six, thus adding to the Old Testament heritage that of the New. In spite of his later atheism and anti-ecclesiasticism, Marx could not quite forget Jesus' concern for "the least of these." In his writings, he champions the cause of the poor, the exploited, and the disinherited. The Christian significance of Karl Marx is probably greater than is generally thought. He emphasized that something can be done about the social order - that it can be changed.

(30) Walter Rauschenbusch, CHRISTIANITY AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS, P.346.

theological trends, both of which included a view of human personality never quite reached before, of man who is a child of God the Father and therefore who is brother to every man. At this point the democratic idea is projected into the Kingdom of God with the doctrine of equality. In this world, men have promise of a kingdom realized either in fellowship in a universal society, or through the sacraments of the Church, or in acts of Christian charity.

By the late twenties much of the superficial optimism that had marked both social and theological liberalism in the post-war period began to fade. Hope in the coming of the kingdom of God upon earth as a result of God-inspired human effort lessened as the idealistic basis of such liberalism was challenged by realistic thought. This decline of liberalism was hastened by the shattering events of the 1930's (total depression and total war) when such a theology, with its romantic conception of the kingdom of God, had so little to say in the midst of the tragedies of the time. This process of decline was also quickened in the 1930's by the revival of a more biblically-centred theology which drew its inspiration not only from its own earlier tradition, but also from new theological movements, sometimes referred to as neo-orthodoxy - on the Continent and in the United States. (31)

(31) On the Continent the new movement was associated with the names of Swiss theologians Karl Barth and Emil Brunner. It represented a reaction against the rational religion and natural theology of liberalism with its exalted view of the nature and possibilities of man, and its idea of a God immanent in man and in culture working out His will through evolutionary moral, spiritual and social progress. The new movement sought to lift contemporary theology out of the sphere of human and spiritual values into the category of divine revelation. It stressed the uniqueness of the judging, saving word of God which stands over and outside man and human culture. Consequently, it urged a more realistic social ethic based on a biblical understanding of the sinfulness of man and of the real possibilities as well as limitations of Christian social action. The influence of American neo-orthodoxy in Scotland in the 1930's and 40's came particularly through the writings of Reinhold Niebuhr, and was especially applicable to the field of social ethics.

This new realism was reflected in the Church in her attitude to the second World War. The Church regarded the new conflict with none of the easy optimism with which she greeted the first War. There was none of the idealistic, self-righteous, holy crusading spirit which was so evident in 1914-18 church sources, but instead there was a sober consciousness of the demonic power and mystery of war and of the fact that it was an evil which was always contrary to the will of God. Above all, there was a keen awareness that the coming of yet another and more fearful conflict represented a terrible judgment upon both the nation and the whole of western civilization.

The profound effect which the war had upon the Church's theological and social thought was evident in the remarkable investigations carried on during the war years by the General Assembly's famous Commission for the Interpretation of God's Will in the Present Crisis. This Commission, set up in 1940 to investigate the implications of the War for the life of the Church and the nation, issued five Reports between 1941 and 1945 dealing with a wide range of subjects - church life and organization, education, marriage and social and industrial life. Sections of the 1942 and 1944 Reports dealt with the Church's relation to the civil order and to social and industrial life. It was these sections of the Reports which proved to be both the most popular and the most controversial declarations of the Commission.

Here the Commission, with considerable insight, had set forth one of the basic causes of all the Church's tragic prophetic failure in the past - the influence of social and economic factors in

militating against any real social criticism. Here the Church at last gave due acknowledgement to the fact that social injustice was caused not simply by the personal sin of individuals but was the product of social sin - of corporate evil - which expressed itself supremely in class and economic self-interest.⁽³²⁾

This section of the Report went on to indicate how the Church could avoid the danger of adopting either of the false attitudes to the civil order by confining her pronouncements within the sphere of middle axioms.⁽³³⁾ Middle axioms were formulations of those Christian goals for society which were more specific and concrete than vague general principles which were inapplicable to the practical problems at hand, yet which were less specific and concrete than particular programmes and schemes of action. They were intended to provide a middle way for the Church between the utterance of mere empty platitudes which said nothing, and the advocacy of complex and technical political and economic programmes. The Commission admitted the difficulty in formulating such middle axioms before the practical situation in which they were to be applied had developed. But it said this was inevitable, for by their very nature,

"they are not such as to be appropriate to every time and place and situation, but they are offered as legitimate and necessary applications of the Christian rule of faith and life to the special circumstances in which we now stand."⁽³⁴⁾

(32) GOD'S WILL FOR CHURCH AND NATION, 1942 Report, P.34.

(33) Ibid., P.45.

The term 'middle axioms' first came into use at the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State, held in 1937.

(34) Loc.Cit.

Throughout the remarkable Reports of this Commission on the Interpretation of God's Will in the Present Crisis, it was evident that the Church's social criticism had reached a more mature stage of development. The Church was now engaging in something more than a negative criticism of the existing social and economic order, but was prophetically attempting to discern the signs of the times and to speak God's Word in the midst of them. She was aware that the old order stood condemned and was attempting to point the way for the new kind of society that was emerging - a society in which a concern for social and economic justice was to have a primary place.

The wise lead and social preaching which the Church gave to the nation on those critical issues which came to light during the war, together with the enlightened attitude which she adopted towards the comprehensive social welfare schemes which were drafted during these years, made it possible for her to play a large part in easing the transition to social democracy after 1945. It is not too much to say that by her vigorous pronouncements, social preaching and activity in the war years, the Church helped to prepare the way for that orderly transfer of power and that 'revolution' in social and economic life which was the mark of the 1945-50 period.

Thus the pulpit of the church grew stronger in its speaking to the social issues of the day. It had been influenced by many factors and now spoke with a clarity and effectiveness.

2. Some of the Other Theological Aspects of Social Preaching

The theological basis for social preaching has developed slowly through the years. Paul Tillich has written:

The Protestant principle cannot admit an absolute form of social ethics. But, on the other hand, it need not surrender its development to the state. . . or to society. . . . Protestantism can and must have a social ethics determined by the experience of the kairos in the light of the Protestant principle. . . . Ethics out of kairos is ethics out of love, for love unites the ultimate criterion with the adaptation to the concrete situation.(35)

Tillich once felt that religious socialism offered the best hope for building a better civilization. He believed that the working class and the unemployed could become the means of bringing in a culture in which each person would be able to realize his own potential. In Germany, he hoped to lead the proletariat with the guiding principle called 'theonomy,' a type of culture in which all aspects of life are informed by ultimate concern. But with the coming of Hitler, his dream was never realized.

We have seen that pulpit pronouncements depend upon other than social and economic elements. We have perceived that questions of property, the structure of society and general problems of economic life, while involving some special technical questions, rest eventually upon a theological basis. There is a theology beneath every ethical system. The ethical basis of a person's life reveals something of his attitude toward God, and the nature of their faith.

(35) Paul Tillich, THE PROTESTANT ERA, trans. James Luther Adams,

There is the ethics of law, as is represented by the Roman Catholic Doctrine of natural law. Also, there is the ethics of transcendence, which is representative of one trend of thought in the Church. It has been the reason in at least one instance, in German Lutheranism, why there has been so few Lutheran Church social pulpit pronouncements. In the other branch of the school, with the followers of Karl Barth, we detect an attitude which, if accepted by the majority of the Church, might indicate that social concerns really have little value.

The ethics of the Social Gospel was one of clearly defined ends, where the new law replaces the Gospel. Knowledge of what Christ commands is put before the relationship and confrontation of Christ Himself. The tension between relative and absolute, between justice and love, is blurred by over-enthusiasm to answer the difficult problems which face all mankind.

In defence of the Social Gospel movement, it must be recalled that many individuals were able to keep this tension, as did for example that great giant of the movement, Walter Rauschenbusch. He knew very well that justice and love were easily merged to the ruination of both, that what resulted was sentimentality in the place of justice and law in the place of love. He also recognized the corruption of the mind and will by sin. He did not accept a doctrine of automatic progress in history. His weakness was that if he saw the danger of merging love and justice to the detriment of both, he also gave love a greater power to transform society than it could possibly have had, considering the corruption of human sin.

In placing too much emphasis upon the social character of sin, an emphasis that was needed to some extent, Rauschenbusch often neglected the deeply indwelling individual character of sin which may pervert reason to the ends of the will and conscience to desire.

The question for the present is whether the biblical, theological, and social insights of the social gospel can be for all the church. The tragedy of the recent past has been that "social gospel" was an invitation to divisiveness for many.

Just so, "evangelical" carried within itself the tendency toward party spirit and misunderstanding; to go back to the roots is to have the freedom to incorporate in present ministry all that has been helpful to the church Catholic in the past. If, as has been suggested in this article, social gospel and evangelical are not so very far apart, the Christian Church could yet be the recipient of the best of both.(40)

Generally, we have seen that the evangelistic campaigns and other approaches taught well-to-do Christians that it was their duty to bridge the threatening social gap between themselves and the lower classes by visiting the poor, teaching them the Bible, taking an interest in their welfare, giving them advice, unwanted clothes and soup. Sometimes Christians responded with great zeal and earnestness by throwing themselves into the task of raising the spiritual and moral condition and relieving the physical hardship of the lower classes. Many noble and dedicated men and women spent their lives in evangelical and charitable work. The tragedy was that so few of these Christians ever directed their energies to rectifying the system that was causing such poverty, misery and

(40) Ronald C. White, Jr., "Recycling The Social Gospel," PACIFIC THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, 7 (Summer, 1975): 17-18.

spiritual apathy. Too often such worthy activity was regarded as a substitute for the changes which social justice demanded. Its theological tendencies militated against the awakening of any genuine social criticism. The emphasis on personal salvation and spiritual experience only increased the already overstressed individualism in Calvinist theology and in contemporary religious life. It actually strengthened the all too prevalent notion that social reform could only come through individual Christian regeneration and not by modifying the arrangements of society. The task was seen to be to change individuals, not to change laws, social policy or economic arrangements. How much of this philanthropic and evangelistic endeavour was consciously or unconsciously carried out in order to forestall basic social and economic changes in society is difficult to ascertain. But it was a factor. As in the earlier part of the century, sermons and articles in the church press frequently appealed to the higher classes to christianize the lower orders if they wished to preserve their power and privileges.

3. Final Statements of the Thesis

This critical study has not made an effort to assess all of the social and theological movements current within the period under study, excepting insofar as they assist in explaining the social pulpit outlook of the Church at any given time, and indirectly shed light on the Church's pulpit consciousness. Since this critical investigation has covered a long period, it has been impossible to sketch in more than the barest background of historical data at any particular period or concerning any particular event. Thus this is not a history of social preaching. Rather it partakes of the nature of a survey touching only on the most significant historical events, movements and changes of the time which shed light on the Church's prophetic awareness.

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This thesis has sought to study how the pulpit has reacted to the far-reaching movements and events and changes which so greatly affected the nation's life. For example, the political reform movement in the nineteenth century leading gradually within a century to full political democracy; the rapid concentration of masses of people in large cities with the resulting over-crowding, bad sanitation and appalling housing conditions; the early reign

(41) G. M. Trevelyan, ENGLISH SOCIAL HISTORY, P.97.

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brings a Divine Word to bear upon society, a Word from beyond, it is both natural and unavoidable that a constant tension must exist between the Church and Society, between God's will for society and the actual state of any given society. Indeed, if no tension exists either the society is regenerate or the Church is conformed.⁽⁴⁴⁾

This is not to suggest that the Church, in seeking to fulfil her prophetic task, receives in a special and mysterious fashion some clear-cut revelation of the will of God directly applicable to the social order. Ascertaining the mind of Christ in relation to the complex problems of social and economic life is in no sense an easy task.

The Church as an institution is embedded in her social and cultural setting, and both consciously and unconsciously she assimilates values and ideas, habits of thought and action from that setting. The danger inherent in such inevitable cultural involvement is that the Church will be too much conformed to this world; that she will be a mere reflection of society, rather than a source of a profound critique of it.

But the Church is more than a sociological entity. She is also a divine society - the body of Christ. To be conscious of this fact in the midst of her tendency to social conformity, helps the Church to understand why she constantly needs to be judged, why she needs daily repentance, and why justification by faith is a continuing experience. Only as she herself stands under the criticism

(44) THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY, Report of the World Council of Churches, P.6.

of the Gospel can the Church transcend the culture in which she is involved. Only as she constantly seeks to cleanse her own life and outlook bringing it more and more into conformity with the mind of Christ can she bring the clear and distinctive Word of the Gospel to bear on society.

Therefore, the Church dares to influence society through Christian social criticism only as she struggles to live under the sovereignty of God and submits herself to His judgment. Even then her most deeply inspired social sermons will not be free from hidden and unexamined biases, pre-conceptions and distortions, nor reflect the full will of God. But the Church engages in her prophetic calling and takes action on great social and moral questions not because of the certain inerrancy of her pulpit pronouncements nor because of the successes that she is sure to achieve, but because she knows God's love for the world and is compelled to express it in concrete terms. It is not required of the Church that she be either infallible or successful; it is only required that she be faithful.

Therefore, it has been with the British Church's awareness of, and faithfulness to her prophetic pulpit task in society that this study has been concerned. Clearly, by thus limiting the area of concern of this critical investigation, there are many aspects of the Church's social witness which fall outside its scope. For example, almost all the social questions to which the pulpit in the nineteenth century devoted so much attention, such as temperance reform, Sabbath observance, social purity, etc., have been largely ignored because they are essentially personal rather than social.

Their advocacy implies no basic criticism of society but seeks primarily to change the morals and habits of individuals. Only too often in the past this type of social concern amounted to an evasion of genuine social criticism by implying that the sins and evils of society were entirely due to the character weakness and moral faults rather than any shortcoming in the social and economic order; the cure was to change the individual rather than society. (We have seen some of this even in the twentieth century sermons studied in this thesis.)

Of course, this is not to suggest that personal ethics are not important, or that society cannot be to some extent reformed by changing individuals. But it does mean that individual reform alone is not adequate. Particularly is this true in the kind of impersonal industrial society which gradually arose in the general period with which this study deals. Any adequate doctrine of sin should make it clear that evil is firmly embedded in the institutions and structures of society as well as rooted in the human heart, and, therefore complex social evils cannot be eradicated by simply modifying the motivations and practices of individuals. The most serious weakness in so much of the ethical thought of the Church in the past has undoubtedly been

"the false confidence in the power of 'right individual conduct' to produce just social structures."(45)

This is one of the primary principles in the recent rise of the Liberation Theology movement, the human rights movement, and the new Political Theology movement, illustrated by such recent books

(45) A. T. Rasmussen, Op. Cit., P.8.

as POLITICAL THEOLOGY by Dorothee Soelle of Union Theological Seminary in New York, SINFUL SOCIAL STRUCTURES by Patrick Kerans, A READER IN POLITICAL THEOLOGY edited by Alistair Kee, A THEOLOGY OF LIBERATION by Gustavo Gutierrez, and REVOLUTIONARY THEOLOGY COMES OF AGE by Jose Miguez Bonino. A helpful outline of the development of Liberation Theology and its primary emphases is by Monika Hellwig, "Liberation Theology: An Emerging School" in THE SCOTTISH JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, April, 1977. These examine the possibility of and the need for love becoming efficacious in social structures. Evidently this is a theological swing arising out of the uneasy social conscience of the modern Church, in which social preaching and activity has become an actual theology for the present.

The social proclamation of the pulpit needs to be re-emphasized today; clergymen need to realize their responsibility. While ours is an unique period, we can learn much from the past, for we need a renewal and resurgence of social preaching, with Christian communicators becoming more effective in their social witness.

Writing in 1930 about the Church of Scotland's task in relation to the corporate life of society, one Scottish Churchman declared that the:

Church's task is to form, or transform, public opinion, and in so doing she must always move on ahead of the laggard majority. Hers is the task of the pioneer. She loses her distinctive source of power if she becomes an exponent of ca' canny, a mere defender of things as they are. . . . The Church, like the kingdom, should act as a leaven - a disturbing uncomfortable ingredient, ever stirring to dissatisfaction with that which has been attained. So the Church is in a real sense the conscience of the Nation, its principle of moral activity. It is a demoralized conscience which finds excuses for delay in attempting hard duties, and it is an unfaithful Church which counsels caution in setting wrongs right, whether at home or abroad.(46)

(46) G. F. Barbour, CHURCH AND NATION IN SCOTLAND TODAY, pp.16-17.

Valid as this expression of the church's relationship to society certainly is, yet, as this study has demonstrated, ministers have not always demonstrated and faithfully fulfilled this dynamic biblical understanding of her prophetic task.

During the nineteenth century the pulpit made virtually no attempt to form or transform public opinion or stir up social conscience. Her clergy put rights of property and class privilege before human rights and the dignity and worth of individuals. They had little understanding of how to preach to the social issues of rescuing men, women and children from starvation wages and unendurable toil, filth and disease.

Some clergy believed they were being neutral and non-political by refusing to make judgments upon contemporary social and economic problems. In the face of glaring social evils, they complacently accepted the existing order as divinely ordained.

But since the turn of the century, the Church has reclaimed more of her traditional pulpit concern for the whole corporate life of society, although she has often failed to carry out her prophetic task with the boldness and vigor which the situation demanded.

There has been some genuine recovery of social preaching in the Church during the past half century, but not always to the degree that might have been expected, considering the extent of the Church's general social awakening and the magnitude of social problems. The pulpit must be the conscience of the nation in these social areas, as well as the challenge of the individual toward response to social problems.

Of course, because of the humanity of the clergy, they are conditioned by historical, theological and social factors which tend to militate against the exercise of consistent social criticism. These factors influence our social preaching and we cannot escape them. But it will be helpful if we are aware of them.

John Baillie, in a famous speech delivered to the General Assembly in connection with the 1942 Report of the Commission of which he was convener, suggested one such form of compensation:

I wonder whether it would be the worst disaster that could befall the Church in this hour, if it should be found to be a little over-bold in its pronouncements, if it should be a little over-impetuous in its zeal to the redress of social wrong, and in its desire to see the lineaments of that New Jerusalem in which it claims to believe a little more noticeably and recognizably reflected in Scotland's green and pleasant land? There is a famous remark of Aristotle's to the effect that sometimes we can correct a defect to which we are naturally prone, or to which we have long been subject, by leaning over a little bit too far towards excess, as men try to straighten a piece of wood that is bent.(47)

Perhaps these words provide some clue as to the manner in which clergy can counteract tendencies toward social conservatism, conformity and passivity. Certainly, no minister can be prophetic who is blindly unaware of the conditioning process of which they are being subjected. The clergy of our time need the history, the skills and the motivation of social preaching - the courage to preach, the recovery of the responsible social pulpit.

(47) J. G. Riddell & G. M. Dryburgh, CRISES AND CHALLENGE, appendix I, P.118.

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